RAMASEEANA,

OR

A VOCABULARY

OF THE PECULIAR LANGUAGE USED BY THE

THUGS,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX,

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE

SYSTEM PURSUED BY THAT FRATERNITY

AND OF

THE MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN ADOPTED BY THE

Supreme Government of India

FOR ITS SUPPRESSION.

CALCUTTA:

G. H. HUTTMANN, MILITARY ORPHAN PRESS.

1836.

Y73 (P1521)
M36

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES LIBRARY
Acc. 6717
EGMORE, MADRAS-600 008

PREFACE.

Mankind in considering the necessity of restraining those evil propensities which affect the life, property and character of their fellow men commonly appeal to three standards. 1st. The will of the Deity, as revealed to them in their scriptures, or interpreted to them by the expounders of their religion. 2d. The moral feelings of the circles of society in which they move. 3rd. The Penal laws in force and the character of their administration.

1st. The Thug associations which we are now engaged in suppressing have been taught by those whom they revere as the expounders of the will of their Deity, that the murders they perpetrate are pleasing to her, provided they are perpetrated under certain restrictions, attended by certain observances, and preceded and followed by certain rites, sacrifices and offerings. The Deity who, according to their belief, guides and protects them is ever manifesting her will by signs; and as long as they understand and observe these signs they all consider themselves as acting in conformity to her will; and consequently, fulfilling her wishes and designs. On all occasions and in all situations they believe these signs to be available if sought after in a pure spirit of faith, and with the prescribed observances; and as long as they are satisfied that they are truly interpreted and faithfully obeyed they never feel any dread of punishment either in this world or the next.

2d. The second standard to which men appeal is commonly more powerful in well regulated societies than the first, in checking the indulgence of their vicious propensities.

Where men are taught by a pure system of religion, that every act which robs their fellow men of life, of property, or of character, is a crime punishable in the next world, they are apt to believe that a deathbed repentance will appease a justly offended God, and secure their pardon; and in that state of body and mind in which men are most tempted to those crimes, they are all too apt to believe that death is yet far distant. But in such well regulated societies the *odium* of the circles in which men move for crimes which shock their moral feelings is a punishment sure and immediate, and consequently more dreaded. The circles of society in which these assassins by profession live and move are conciliated by their lavish expenditure of the booty they acquire on their annual expeditions, and by that amiable deportment which they find necessary to enable them to win the confidence of their victims while abroad, and which they continue to preserve at home, where they are commonly the most scrupulous in the discharge of their duties in all relations of life—the most liberal promoters of all social enjoyment, and the most rigid observers of every thing relating to cast and religion. In such circles, the dreadful trade of murder by which they earn their incomes, even when known or suspected, as it commonly is, hardly ever makes them odious; for the want of sympathy between men of different casts, or different places of abode is, unhappily, the grand characteristic of Indian society; and as long as these assassins forbear to murder in and about the places where they reside, and conciliate or keep in ignorance the local police authorities, they are sure of being cherished as among the dearest members of society. At least the most dangerous members of the associations are so, for the qualities which give them influence over their associates are precisely those which must endear them to the circles in which they move; and the greatest leaders are always those to whose arrest and conviction such circles of society oppose the greatest obstacles. In some cases the village communities among whom they

live and the local authorities in native states have a notion that they are under some supernatural influence, and dread the consequences of being made in any way instrumental to their punishment. Such people oppose their arrest and conviction as they would oppose the killing of a snake or a wolf; and in most parts of India a village community would lament the killing of a wolf within their boundary by one of the community as a great calamity though he should have destroyed a child a week among them. They consider the wolf as an instrument in the hand of God, and dread the consequence of any violence to it. From the same feeling many village communities believe it to be impious to prescribe medicine for the Cholera Morbus when it rages among them, considering it as a means used by *Davey* for the destruction of a certain portion of the human race, and consequently to be averted only by prayers and sacrifices. In appealing, therefore, to two out of the three great standards, the will of their God, and the moral feelings of their own circles of society, the Thug fraternity feels no necessity whatever to cease from murder; and the tradition or legend that the Deity at some remote period saved them the trouble of burying the bodies of their victims *by swallowing them herself*, is, perhaps, typical of a time when no human laws were in force for the protection of travellers against their depredations. There are many parts of India still in which they are accustomed to leave the bodies of their victims unburied having no fear of enquiry or pursuit from the local Governments.

3rd. From Penal laws and their administration they have rarely had any thing to fear in the Districts where they resided; and with their ordinary precautions seldom any from those in which their crimes were perpetrated. It was their rule never to rob before they had murdered the person to be robbed; never to suffer one of a party to escape except an infant for adoption, and to destroy all property that might by its recognition lead to their detection, or convert it into

money at a distance from home. With these precautions they had nothing to fear but their own disclosures; and to prevent these they adopted the most solemn oaths that their superstition admitted to bind each other to secrecy. In appealing therefore to the third great standard, they had little to restrain them from the prosecution of their dreadful trade from the fear of the criminal laws any where in force, since the quantity and quality of the evidence required by such laws for the conviction of men charged with crimes of such magnitude, could rarely be found.

Freed, as it were, from all those religious, moral, and municipal restraints which deter men from crimes in other Countries, they were invited to them by circumstances peculiar in great measure to their own. The practice all over India of sending remittances in the precious metals and jewels whenever the rate of exchange makes it in the smallest degree profitable to do so by men on foot and in disguise without any guard or arms to defend themselves, the necessity of drawing recruits for our armies from distant provinces, and of granting a certain portion leave to revisit their homes every year during the hot season, when they set out every morning before daylight in order to avoid the heat of the sun during the day. The mode of travelling on foot or on small ponies almost universal among those who have occasion to make long journeys of whatever rank or condition; their mode of providing and dressing their own food under the shade of trees by the way side without that communication with the people of the towns through which they pass, which could enable their friends to trace them when they disappear; the long tracts of grass and wood jungle through which all the roads pass; the little appearance of road that is any where to be found, and the consequent facility with which they are led aside by bye-paths *(Pugdundies)* into places chosen for murder—the number of such places in wood and grass jungles, rivers, ravines, and wáter-courses by which every road is intersected or bordered—the unreserved manner

in which travellers of the same cast mix and communicate, and the facility with which men can feign different casts—the right of search every where assumed by custom house officers, which obliges travellers to display the nature and value of the property they carry—the paucity of commercial intercourse between towns along any of the great lines of road leading from and to the great seats of our Civil and Military establishments, in a country where every village produces what its population demands, and consumes almost all that it produces save its raw agricultural produce—the slow rate of the transit where all produce is carried upon bullocks, and, consequently, the little chance the assassin has of being overtaken and interrupted in his operations—all these and many other circumstances peculiar to the country favored the growth of this system, and caused it to spread from one end of India to the other.

W. H. SLEEMAN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

FIRST PART.

	Page.
PREFACE.	0
INTRODUCTION.	0
VOCABULARY.	67
CONVERSATIONS.	141

SECOND PART.

APPENDIX	A.	Correspondence between Captain Sleeman and Mr. Stockwell	1
	B.	English Proceedings of the Thug Trials held at Ghazeepoor and Benares, in 1833-34.	6
	C.	Copy of a letter from Mr. C. Fraser to Mr. Wilder, on the commitment of a gang of Thugs	46
	D.	Burwaha Ghat Affair	54
	E.	Dhooleea Malagow Affair	69
	F.	Dhoree Affair	73
	G.	Shikarpore Affair.	88
	H.	Surgooja Affair.	101
	I.	Chutterkote Affair.	107
	J.	Omerpatun Affair.	112
	K.	Gangs arrested at Kotah.	123
	L.	Arrests at Bhopaul in 1820.	132
	M.	Dowsa Affair, No. 169.	141

Page.

APPENDIX N. Murder of Subahdar Major Akbur Khan. 145
O. List of Thug Families who paid the Tax on Thugs to the Gwalior State. 150
P. Bhilsa Gangs in 1829. 226
Q. Dhooma Affair. 229
R. Murder of Nowab Subjee Khan. 239
S. Case of the Thugs apprehended in the Sarun district in 1827, by Mr. W. A. Pringle, ... 244
T. Captain Sherriff's Proceedings in 1823, at Jhalna 271
U. Mr. Wright's proceedings at Chitoor in 1815-16, ... 299
V. Dr. Sherwood's paper on Thuggee written in 1816, ... 327
W. Mr. Stockwell's proceedings in 1814, 362
X. Gang of Thugs apprehended by Capt. Borthwick in Malwa, in 1829, .. 376
X. Proceedings in Malwa continued, .. 387
Y. Case of River Thuggee at Dacca..... 436
Z. Deposition of Runnooa Moonshee, taken before Capt. Wade, Political Agent at Loodhiana, 25th August, 1834. 472
A 2. Gang of Thugs apprehended at Masulipatam. 481

INTRODUCTION.

I have, I believe, entered in this Vocabulary every thing to which Thugs in any part of India have thought it necessary to assign a peculiar term; and every term peculiar to their associations with which I have yet become acquainted. I am satisfied that there is no term, no rite, no ceremony, no opinion, no omen or usage that they have intentionally concealed from me; and if any have been accidently omitted after the numerous narratives that I have had to record, and cases to investigate, they can be but comparatively very few and unimportant.

2. Their peculiar dialect the Thugs call Ramasee; and every word entered in this Vocabulary is Ramasee in the sense assigned to it; while but few of them are to be found at all in any language with which I am acquainted. Their verbs have all Hindoostanee terminations, and auxiliaries, such as Kurna to make, Lena to take, Dena to give, Jana to go, Lana to bring, Dalna to throw.

3. Different terms have often been invented for the same thing by different gangs, situated at a great distance from each other. Many of the members of the seven original clans who emigrated into remote parts of India, after their flight from Delhi, had, perhaps, forgotten many of the terms in use among them before they had the means of forming new gangs out of the rude materials around them in their new abodes, or before their own children became old enough to obviate the necessity of raising new recruits from among their neighbours, and been obliged to adopt new ones. As the new gangs became too large to be satisfied with occasional murders upon the roads in their neighbourhood, they extended their expeditions into remote parts, and had frequent occasions of meeting and acting in conjunction with each other; when it became necessary that all should become so familiarly acquainted with the different terms used by different gangs to denote the same thing, as to be able to use them indifferently and at the moment when occasion required.

4. It is not perhaps above fifty or sixty years that the gangs of Hindoostan have been in the habit of frequently extending their depredations into the districts South of the Nurbudda; and to these depredations they were invited chiefly by the Pindaree system, which rendered the roads leading from these districts across the

Nurbudda to the Gangetic provinces, and to Hindoostan generally, very insecure; and caused the wealth to flow by those of Surgooja and Sumbulpore; and by the remittances made in jewels and specie from Bombay and Surat, to Indore and Rajpootana after the suppression of that system under the Marquis of Hastings, and the introduction of the opium monopoly into Malwa; which created on extraordinary demand for money to be advaneed to the cultivators of that article.

5. There are in almost all parts of India money-carriers by profession, who, though in the very lowest classes of society in point of circumstances, are entrusted by merchants with the conveyance to distant parts of enormous sums in gold and jewels; and sent without a guard, and often without arms to defend themselves. Their fidelity, sagacity, and beggarly appearance are relied upon as a sufficient security; and though I have had to investigate the cases of, I may say hundreds, who have been murdered in the discharge of their duty, I have never yet heard of one who betrayed his trust. It was generally by these men, that the merchants of Bombay and Surat sent their remittances in gold and jewels through Kandeish and Malwa to Indore and Rajpootana; and from the year 1824, to the commencement of our operations in 1830, the sums taken from them

by gangs of Thugs from Hindoostan, or Countries North of the Nurbudda were immense. Of the following sums, we have authentic records.

	Rs.
1826, at Choupara on the Taptee—murder of 14 persons at one time, and plunder of..........................	25,000
1827, Malagow in Kandeish—murder of 7 persons at one time, and plunder of	22,000
1828, Dhorecote in Kandeish—murder of 3 persons at one time, and plunder of	12,000
1828, Burwahaghat on the Nurbudda—murder of 9 persons at one time, and plunder of..........................	40,000
1829, Dhoree in Kandeish—murder of 6 persons at one time, and plunder of	82,000
1830, Baroda—murder of 25 persons, and plunder of....................	10,000

In the Choupara affair, 150 Thugs were engaged, and of these there are only 33 at large. In the Burwahaghat affair, 125 were engaged, and of these only 12 are now at large. In the Dhoree affair, 150 were engaged, and of these only 30 are now at large. In the Dhorecote affair, 125 were engaged, and of these 25 only are at large. In the Dholeea and Malagow affair, 350 were either present or within a stage or two of

the place and shared in the booty, and of these only 36 are now at large.*

6. There are Thugs at Jubulpore from all quarters of India; from Lodheeana to the Carnatick, and from the Indus to the Ganges. Some of them have been in the habit of holding, what I may fairly call unreserved communication with European gentlemen for more than twelve years; and yet there is not among them one who doubts *the divine origin of the system of Thuggee*—not one who doubts, that he and all who have followed the trade of murder with the prescribed rites and observances, were acting under the immediate orders and auspices of the Goddess Devee, Durga, Kalee or Bhawanee, as she is indifferently called, and consequently there is not one who feels the slightest remorse for the murders which he may, in the course of his vocation, have perpetrated or assisted in perpetrating. A Thug considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the Goddess; and he remembers them, as a Priest of Jupiter remembered the oxen, and a Priest of Saturn the children sacrificed

* Total 136, but in reality there are only 69 of the Thugs engaged in these affairs now at large, as many were engaged in more than one of them. The total number engaged would appear to be 900, but in reality there were only between 500 and 600 for the same reason.

upon their altars. He meditates his murders without any misgivings, he perpetrates them without any emotions of pity, and he remembers them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams, nor does their recollection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in solitude, or in the hour of death.

7. I must at the same time state that I have very rarely discovered any instance of what may, perhaps, be termed *wanton cruelty*; that is pain inflicted beyond what was necessary to deprive the person of life—pain either to the mind or body. The murder of women is a violation of their rules to which they attribute much of our success against the system, because it is considered to have given offence to their patroness; but no Thug was ever known to offer insult either in act or in speech to the woman they were to murder. No gang would ever dare to murder a woman with whom one of its members should be suspected of having had criminal intercourse. In Bengal, Behar and Orrissa, and in the countries east of the Jumna and Ganges, they have not I believe yet ventured to violate this rule against the murder of females; and in the countries south of the Nurbudda river they have rarely violated it, I am told, except in the case of old women whom they could not conveniently separate from parties of travellers, or whom they supposed to be very wealthy. The

gangs who inhabited the countries between the rivers Indus, Jumna, and Nurbudda, are the only ones that have yet ventured to murder women indiscriminately; and the belief that they owe their downfall in great measure to their having done so, will effectually prevent the practice from extending to other countries. The Thugs who resided between the Ganges and Jumna did not however much scruple to participate in the murder of females while associated with the gangs of Bundelcund and Gwalior in their expeditions to the west of the Jumna and south of the Nurbudda.

8. I have never found a Thug by birth, or one who had been fully initiated in its mysteries, who doubted the *inspiration of the pick-axe*, when consecrated in due form,—not one who doubted that the omens described in this work were all-sufficient to guide them to their prey, or to warn them from their danger; or that they were the signs ordained by the Goddess expressly for these purposes,—not one who doubted, that if these omens had been attended to, and the prescribed rules observed, the system of Thuggee must have flourished under the auspices of its divine patroness in spite of all our efforts for its suppression.

9. There is every reason to believe that the system of Thuggee, or Phanseegeeree, originated

with some parties of vagrant Mahommuduns, who infested the roads about the ancient capital of India. Herodotus, in his Polymnia, mentions, as a part of the army with which Xerxes invaded Greece, a body of horse from among the Sagartii, a pastoral people of Persian descent, and who spoke the Persian language. Their only offensive weapons were a dagger, and a cord made of twisted leather with a noose at one end. With this cord they entangled their enemies or their horses, and when they got them down they easily put them to death. Thievenot, in the passage quoted by Doctor Sherwood from his Travels, part 3d, page 41, states—" Though " the road I have been speaking of from Delhi " to Agra be tolerable, yet hath it many inconveniences. One may meet with tygers, panthers, and lyons upon it; and one had best " also have a care of robbers, and above all " things not to suffer any body to come near one " upon the road. The cunningest robbers in " the world are in that country. They use a " certain rope with a running noose, which they " can cast with so much sleight about a man's " neck when they are within reach of him, that " they never fail, so that they strangle him in a " trice, &c. &c. But, besides that there are men " in those quarters so skilful in casting the snare " that they succeed as well at a distance as near " at hand, and if an ox or any other beast " belonging to a caravan run away, as some-

"times it happens, they fail not to catch it by "the neck."*

10. Now, though there is a vast interval of time between the Persian invasion of Greece and the travels of Thievenot, and of space between the seat of Sagartii and that of the ancient capital of India, I am still inclined to think that the vagrant bands who, in the sixteenth century infested the roads, as above described, between Delhi and Agra, came from some wild tribe and country of the kind; and I feel myself no doubt, that from these vagrant bands are descended the seven clans of Mahommudun Thugs, Bhys, Bursote, Kachunee, Huttar, Ganoo, and Tundel,† who, by the common consent of all Thugs throughout India, whether Hindoos or Mahommuduns, are admitted to be the most ancient, and the great original trunk upon which all the others have at different times and in different places been grafted. Bands of these vagrants, under various denominations, are to be found in all parts of India, but are most numerous, I believe, to the north and west. They all retain

* Thievenot was born 1621—he died 1692, and his Travels were published 1687.

† Some include also the Kathur clan who are also called Ghugaros, but by most they are considered to be merely a sect from one of the original clans.

in some degree their pristine habits and usages; and taking their families with them, they allow their women to assist in the murders which they perpetrate in their encampments; but they have always some other ostensible employment, and as the other Thugs, who live among and cannot be distinguished from other men, say, "they "live in the desert and work in the desert, and "their deeds are not known!"

11. But whatever may have been the origin of the system, it is sufficiently manifest that their faith in its divine origin is of Indian growth, and has been gradually produced by the habit of systematically confounding coincidences of circumstances and events with cause and effect. This is a weakness in some degree inherent in human nature, and common, therefore, in some degree to all states and classes of society. The man who seriously believes that he is habitually blessed with good or cursed with bad luck at cards or dice, the mother who believes that her child sickens because her friends venture to praise its freshness or its appetite have it in common with the poor Bhoomka of the wild tracts of India, who believes that he can charm the tyger from his village, the Garpuguree who believes that he can divert the hail storm from the corn fields of its cultivators, and the Thug, who believes that

he can inspire his pick-axe.* But India is emphatically the land of superstition and in this land the system of Thuggee, the most extraordinary that has ever been recorded in the history of the human race, had found a congenial soil, and flourished with rank luxuriance for more than two centuries, till its roots had penetrated and spread over almost every district within the limits of our dominions, when the present plan of operations for its suppression was adopted in 1830 by the then Governor General Lord William Bentinck.

12. For many years up to 1829 these assassins traversed every great and much frequented road from the Himalah Mountains to the Nerbudda river, and from the Ganges to the Indus, without the fear of punishment from divine or human laws. There is not now, I believe, within

* In many parts of Berar and Malwa every village has its Bhoomka, whose office it is to charm the tygers; and its Garpuguree, whose duty it is to keep off the hail storms. They are part of the village servants, and paid by the village community. After a severe hail storm that took place in the district of Nursingpore, of which I had the civil charge in 1823, the office of Garpuguree was restored to several villages in which it had ceased for several generations. They are all Brahmans, and take advantage of such calamities to impress the people with an opinion of their usefulness. The Bhoomkas are all Gonds, or people of the woods, who worship their own Lares and Penates.

that space a single road except in the western parts of Rajpootana and Guzerat, that is not free from their depredations; and whatever may be ultimately the opinion of thinking men regarding the general character and results of Lord William Bentinck's administration, I hope all will unite in applauding the boldness which could adopt, and the firmness which could so steadily pursue this great measure for relieving the native society of India from an evil which pressed on them so heavily, and on them alone; for these assassins had rarely if ever attacked Europeans. It was not against their tenets to do so, but they knew that Europeans seldom travelled with much money or other valuable property about their persons, and that their disappearance would cause much more enquiry, and consequently more danger to their associations than that of native travellers.

13. So early as April 1810 the Commander in Chief of the Army thought it necessary to issue an order, cautioning the native troops against this dreadful evil to which so many brave Soldiers of every Regiment in the service were annually falling victims; but all attacks upon the evil itself continued to be, as heretofore, insulated and accidental. They were planned and executed by individual Magistrates, who becoming by accident acquainted with the

existence of the evil within their jurisdictions applied their abilities and their energies for a time to its suppression; but their different efforts being unconnected either in time or in place, and often discouraged and repressed by the incredulity of controling powers, were found ultimately almost every where alike unavailing.*

* GENERAL ORDERS BY MAJOR GENERAL ST. LEGER, COMMANDING THE FORCES:

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, the 28th April, 1810.

"It having come to the knowledge of Government that " several Sepoys proceeding to visit their families on leave " of absence from their Corps have been robbed and murder- " ed by a description of persons denominated *Thugs*, who " infested the districts of the Dooab and other parts of the " Upper Provinces, and the insidious means by which they " prosecute their plans of robbery and assassination having " been ascertained, the Commander of the Forces thinks it " proper to give them publicity in General Orders to the " end that Commanding Officers of Native Corps may put " their men on their guard accordingly."

"It has been stated, that these murderers, when they " obtain information of a Traveller who is supposed to have " money about his person, contrive to fall in with him on " the road or in the Sarais; and under pretence of proceed- " ing to the same place, keep him company, and by indirect " questions get an insight into his affairs, after which they " watch for an opportunity to destroy him. This they some- " times create by persuading the Traveller to quit the Sarais " a little after midnight, pretending it is near day-break, or " by detaching him from his companions lead him under " various pretences to some solitary spot."

14. That truly great and good man the Marquis of Hastings, to whom India is perhaps

" It appears that in the destruction of their victim they " first use some deleterious substance, commonly the seeds of " a plant called Duttora, which they contrive to administer " in tobacco, pawn, the hookah, food or drink of the Travel- " ler. As soon as the poison begins to take effect, by " inducing a stupor or languor, they strangle him to prevent " his crying out, when, after stripping and plundering him, " the deed is completed by a stab in the belly on the brink " of a well into which they plunge the body so instantane- " ously that no blood can stain the ground or clothes of the " assassin."

" As the Company's Sepoys who proceed on leave of " absence generally carry about them the savings from their " pay in specie, and travel unarmed, they are eagerly sought " out by these robbers as the particular objects of their de- " predation. With a view therefore to guard against such " atrocious deeds, the Commanding Officers of Native Corps " will caution their men when proceeding on leave of " absence."

1st. " To be strictly on their guard against all persons " (particularly those unarmed) whom they fall in with on the " road who evince a solicitude to keep them company on " pretence that they are going the same way and are inquisi- " tive about their affairs."

2d. " Not to quit the Sarais at a very early hour in the " morning before the rest of the Travellers."

3d. " Not to receive pawn, tobacco, sweetmeat, &c. &c. " from such persons, or smoke their hookahs, particularly if " offered to them in solitary spots on the road; and lastly to " avail themselves of the protection of sowars (horsemen) " when opportunity offers, or travel as much as possible " with large bodies of people. This last object might be

more indebted than to any other individual whose character and station have had any influence upon its destinies, has the following passage in his short summary of his own administration of the Government of India; and yet, strange to say, of the operations of that force the Gwalior Contingent, which this Nobleman supposed to have been so effectually employed in the suppression of this system, there is now to be found neither recollection nor record either among the Officers who commanded it, or the people against whom it was employed. "Scin-"diah had evaded producing this contingent "until after the destruction of the Pindaries. "To compensate for such a delay, which I "affected to consider as accidental, I pressed

"attained in a great degree if the men were persuaded, on "occasions of periodical leave of absence, to keep together "on the road, as long as the several destinations of such "Native Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers as "may be proceeding the same way will admit."

"It has also been intimated to the Major General Com-"manding the Forces, that the Residents at Delhi and Luck-"now, and the Collectors of Revenue will be authorized, on "the application of Commanding Officers of Pay Masters, "to grant bills payable at sight and at the usual exchange, "on any other treasury for sums which may be paid into "their own Treasuries on account of Sepoys wishing to "remit money from one part of the country to another; "a mode which in conformity to the views of Government "is particularly to be encouraged and attended to by Offi-"cers Commanding Corps and Detachments."

" that the corps should be employed in extin-
" guishing certain mischievous associations in
" Scindiah's territories. The description ap-
" plied not only to some bands of avowed rob-
" bers, but to a particular class denominated
" Thugs. This nefarious fraternity, amounting,
" by the first information, to above a thousand
" individuals, was scattered through different
" villages often remote from each other; yet
" they pursued with a species of concert, their
" avocation. This was the making excursions
" to distant districts, where, under the appear-
" ance of journeying along the high roads, they
" endeavoured to associate themselves with
" travellers, by either obtaining leave to accom-
" pany them as if for protection, or, when that
" permission was refused, keeping near them on
" the same pretext. Their business was to seek
" an opportunity of murdering the travellers
" when asleep or off their guard. In this, three
" or four could combine without having given
" suspicion of their connection. Though per-
" sonally unacquainted, they had signs and
" tokens by which each recognized the other as
" of the brotherhood; and their object being
" understood, without the necessity of verbal
" communication, they shunned all speech with
" each other till the utterance of a mystical
" term or two announced the favorable moment,
" and claimed common effort. Scindiah's tole-
" rance of an evil so perfectly ascertained,

" merely because the assassinations were seldom
" committed within his own dominions, may
" afford a tolerable notion of the vitiation of
" society in Central India before this late con-
" vulsion. There is reason to believe that by
" this time the pest in question has been rooted
" out; which, with the suppression of some
" bodies of horsemen under military adventurers
" (a service completely achieved by the contin-
" gent), will be no less a benefit to Scindiah's
" own Government, than to adjacent countries."*

* TO MAJOR STUBBS,
Commanding the Contingent, Goonah.

SIR,

Being anxious to place as far as possible on record in my Office the result of all the efforts that have been from time to time made for the suppression of Thuggee, I shall feel much obliged if you will have the goodness to let me have from your Office a list of the Thugs arrested in consequence of the employment of the Contingent as stated in the enclosed Extract from the Summary of the Marquess of Hastings, and the manner in which each person was disposed of.

I have, &c., &c., &c.,
(Signed) W. H. SLEEMAN, *Genl. Supt.*
Jubulpore, the 13th June, 1835.

Goonah, 3d July, 1835.

TO CAPTAIN W. H. SLEEMAN,
General Superintendent, Jubulpore.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowled[illegible] receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo. I have n[illegible]s of any

15. This system has now, August 1835, I hope been happily suppressed in the Saugor and Nurbudda territories, Bhopaul, Bundelcund, Boghelcund, Eastern Malwa, the greater part of Gwalior, the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna. It has also I hope been suppressed in Candeish, Gozerat, Berar, Rajpootana, Western Malwa, and the Delhi territories, in as far as it arose from the depredations of gangs that resided in the territories above-named, within which little more I hope remains to be done than to collect the fragments of the general wreck of the system—the *Burkas*,

Thugs having been apprehended by the Contingent Horse; and I am, therefore, unable to furnish you with the list you require.

I have no Civil authority, and cannot apprehend any one without orders from the Resident, excepting those detected plundering by the Horse stationed for the protection of Travellers on the roads, but many people have at different times been apprehended by the Contingent and by the Native Aumils and made over to the Contingent at the requisition of different Political Authorities: the prisoners are usually sent either to Gwalior, Sehore, Saugor, Kotah, or where the requisition comes from; no examination or trial takes place here, consequently there is no record to enable me to comply with your wishes.

I have, &c., &c.,

(Signed) W. STUBBS, *Major*,

Superintendent Scindiah's Contingent.

(True Copies.)

W. H. SLEEMAN, *Genl. Supt.*

or fully initiated Thugs, who have as yet escaped us, and are capable of creating new gangs in any part of India that they may be permitted to inhabit; and that they will so create them if left for any time undisturbed in any place, no man who is well acquainted with the system will for a moment doubt.

16. But that the system has been suppressed in every part of India where it once prevailed (and I believe that it prevailed more or less in every part) is, however, a proposition that neither ought nor can be affirmed *absolutely*, for, as justly observed by the able Magistrate of Chittoor in 1812, Mr. W. E. Wright—"with respect "to the crime of murder by Thugs or Fanseegeers, it is not possible for any Magistrate to "say how much it prevails in his district, in "consequence of the precautions taken by these "people in burying the bodies of the murdered."* To affirm absolutely that it has been suppressed while any seeds of the system remain to germinate and spread again over the land might soon render all that has been done unavailing, for there is in it a "principle of vitality" which can be found hardly in any other; and unhappily there exists every where too great a disposition to believe that we have com-

* See his letter to the Secretary to the Madras Government, dated 1st July 1812.

pleted what we have only successfully begun. However honorable to the individuals engaged in it and useful to the people the duty of suppressing this evil may be considered, it certainly is one of great labour and of most painful responsibility; and as almost all those who have yet devoted their abilities to the task have done so at a personal sacrifice of some kind or another to themselves, they have naturally felt anxious to see their part of the work completed as soon as possible. "Fere libenter id, quod volunt homines, credunt," was an observation of Cæsar's, the truth of which is illustrated in almost every human undertaking; and though I do not think any public officer will declare this evil suppressed within his jurisdiction before he believes it to be so, I fear many will, as heretofore, believe it to be so, long before it really is.* There were, and I believe, still are

* It has been every where found dangerous for a Magistrate to make it appear to his native police officers, that he believes or wishes to believe that the crime of Thuggee has entirely ceased within his jurisdiction, for they will always be found ready to avail themselves of such an impression to misrepresent cases that might otherwise lead to discoveries of great importance. Bodies of travellers that have been strangled by Thugs have, in numerous instances, been either concealed or represented by the police as those of men who had died of disease, or been killed by tygers, and have been burned without further inquiry when a careful inquest by impartial persons would have shown the marks

in Bundelcund, and the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna some small gangs of these assassins who confined their operations to the roads in the neighbourhood of their residence, and the secrets of their crimes to their

of strangulation upon their necks. Landholders of all descriptions, whether ostensibly entrusted with the police duties of their estates or not, will in the same manner always endeavour to conceal the discovery of murders perpetrated within them by these people under a Magistrate anxious to believe that the crime does not exist within his division. In some parts of India heavy penalties are injudiciously imposed upon landholders and police officers within whose estates or jurisdictions bodies of murdered men may be found unless they can produce the perpetrators, which is, in effect, to encourage the crime by discouraging the report of those discoveries that might lead to the arrest and conviction of the murderers.

Mr. Wilson writes to me on the 3d December, 1834,—" It " is painful to observe that wherever the Thugs go they are " invariably protected by the Zumeendars, and the premises " of the Thakurs or principal landholders are the certain " spots to find them in." This observation so just with regard to the districts east of the Jumna, has been, unhappily, found equally applicable to every other part of India to which our operations have extended. The Zumeendars or landholders of every description have every where been found ready to receive these people under their protection from the desire to share in the fruits of their expeditions, and without the slightest feeling of religious or moral responsibility for the murders which they know must be perpetrated to secure these fruits. All that they require from them is a promise that they will not commit murders within their estates, and thereby involve them in trouble.

own families, or to a very small circle of friends and associates. They were either in their infancy, or formed by very shrewd old men who saw the danger of continuing with the large gangs and extending their expeditions into very distant parts. Bukshee Jemadar, one of the most noted Thug leaders of his day, who died in the Saugor Jail in 1832, had for some fifteen years ceased to accompany the large gangs, and was supposed to have left off the trade entirely. He was settled at Chutterpore on the great road from Saugor to Culpee, with his three sons, all stout young men, who were supposed by all the old associates of their father never to have been initiated in the mysteries of Thuggee. They were all however arrested with their father and brought to Saugor. A trooper of the 10th Cavalry came to me some time after this from the Mow Cantonments with a piteous tale of the loss and supposed murder of his younger brother, a trooper in the same regiment, whom he had a year or two before, while on their way to their homes on furlough, left in company with a small party of *extremely civil men* in the neighbourhood of Chutterpore. The young trooper's pony *had become lame* on the road, and his brother and party went on to prepare their dinner, telling him to spare his pony and come up slowly, as they would have every thing ready for him by the time he arrived. "The stran-"gers had, he said, been very kind to him, and

" very solicitous about the accident to his pony; " and promised to see him safe to the encamp- " ment, as they were obliged to wait for a rela- " tion who was following: but his brother could " never after be found." I took the trooper at his request to the jail, and almost as soon as he entered he put his hand upon the shoulder of Bukshee's youngest son, who was remarkable for his large eyes, saying, "What did you do with my poor brother—where did you murder and bury him?" and turning round while he yet had hold of the man, he said, "this is one of the men to whom I confided my brother." Jawahir and his brothers, who had hitherto persisted in denying that they had ever been on Thuggee, and whose father's old associates, now admitted King's evidences, used to declare that this son, Jawahir, so far from having been on Thuggee, was such a chicken-hearted lad that the very name of murder used to frighten him, now thought the charm had been broken, and confessed that their father had initiated them from their boyhood; but having limited their expeditions to that road, and admitted only a small party of associates their proceedings had remained undiscovered. Some of the old members of these small gangs have been secured and convicted of old crimes perpetrated while they were associated with the large gangs, and they have in consequence suspended their operations; but they will resume them again when our pursuit

ceases unless all their principal members be brought to punishment.

17. It has now become quite clear to every unprejudiced magistrate, that, as a general principle, he can never rely upon the landholder of a village either to assist him in the arrest of these people, or to prevent their following their trade of murder when they are made over to him upon his pledge to do so. His own particular interest in encouraging the system and sharing in the spoil, will always be dearer to him than any that he can hope to enjoy in common with the society at large by the suppression of it. When driven from one part of the country they never doubt of being soon able to secure the good will of such land holders in any other, for they find little or no difficulty in establishing themselves in new village communities, and in connecting their dreadful trade with the pursuits of agriculture. Left unmolested for a few years they gain recruits from among the youth of their neighbourhood; and by a lavish expenditure of the booty they acquire, and by that mild and conciliatory deportment which they find it necessary to learn and observe on all occasions for the successful prosecution of their trade, they very soon gain the good will of their new circle of society, and contrive to make every member feel interested in their security and success. No men observe more strictly in

domestic life all that is enjoined by their priests, or demanded by their respective casts; nor do any men cultivate with more care the esteem of their neighbours, or court with more assiduity the good will of all constituted local authorities. In short, to men who do not know them, the principal members of these associations will always appear to be among the most amiable, most respectable, and most intelligent members of the lower, and sometimes the middle and higher classes of native society; and it is by no means to be inferred that every man who attempts to screen them from justice knows them to be murderers.*

* I will here quote a passage from a private letter of Mr. McLeod to me written at Dholepore or the banks of the Chumbul, May 23d, 1833. "I am about to send off Purusram, Laek's brother, without irons in search of his father's gang, accompanied only by a sowar, a sipahee or two, and a chuprassee of my own, all of whom will be directed to conceal their livery. They will be instructed on falling in with the gang to give intelligence at the nearest residence of a native functionary, and be furnished with a document requesting such functionary to have them seized as "Companee ka chor," and delivered over to his superior to whom application will afterwards be made for their transfer. Purusram states that he can, if necessary, dig up at every stage the bodies of men they have lately murdered to satisfy the scruples of such as doubt his information. That he will find out the gang I have not the slightest doubt, and if he prove as faithful and intelligent as I hope, we may safely calculate upon their seizure. To ensure his earnestness as far as possible, I have assured him that I will do my utmost to have his father pardoned, and that your assurance before

18. When Feringeea, a Thug leader of some note, for whose arrest Government paid five

leaving Saugor made me confident that he would be so. In your last you say he ought not to be spared as he has neglected your invitations, but I really doubt whether they can ever have reached him in an authentic form; for both Laek and his brother assert that such assurance is all he wants, and his old wife has just toddled away home fully confident that, if he returns *unseized*, she will speedily conduct him into my presence or that of some European Officer. When we consider the indistinct account they receive of the horrors of Saugor much allowance must be made for them in this respect. Bhimmee Jemadar tells me that when Dureean the runaway approver joined them, he said—"oh! "my friends you had better cut and run as fast as you can—"hundreds of us Thugs are being strung about Saugor—still "more are sent to the Blackwater, which is worse; and "those that escape are to cut muttee* for life—as to the poor "approvers, Sleeman Sahib is getting a large mill made up "at the Mint to grind them all to powder." They of course all took to their heels after this. Bhimmee is a mild respectable kind of man who would certainly not appear born for a gallows, and I hope you will let him remain with me. I feel interested, too, for the whole of Laeks' family, among whom I do not think there is naturally any vice, and shocking as their proceedings would appear at home, very many palliating circumstances evidently exist here, and we must be guided by what is expedient. To Laek the sentence of any of his brothers would be most disheartening. When he heard of their arrest, he repeated with great feeling a Hindoostanee verse to this effect. "I was a pearl once "residing in comfort in the ocean. I surrendered my self, "believing I should repose in peace in the bosom of some "fair damsel—but alas! they have pierced me, and passed

* Earth.—Ed.

hundred rupees, was brought in to me at Saugor in December 1830, he told me, that if his life were spared he could secure the arrest of several

"a sting through my body, and have left me to dangle in "constant pain as an ornament to her nose." I will have his narrative taken and sent to you.

D. F. McLEOD.

Lieutenant Thomas, a very talented officer, writes to me from Gualior 2d September 1835—"Munohur, the brother of Laek, (cousin not brother) has voluntarily surrendered himself, at the persuasion of his mother, who lately sent to me for Laek. Upon sending him to her, I told Laek that I would certainly intercede with you for his brother if he would place himself in my custody. He is many years younger than Laek, and has one of the most benevolent countenances that I have ever seen. He looks as though he would rather commit suicide than common, and cold blooded murder. He tells me that he can point out the homes in the Jypore and Jodhpore villages of many noted Sooseea Thugs; that Raejoo is now at his home, and that he left those gangs only a month since actually on Thuggee in Jodhpore."

G. P. THOMAS.

Purusram came up with his father's gang at Alneeabas in the Joudpore territory, where they had been arrested by the Thakur who refused to give them to our guard—beat the old man to death and released the rest. See Geneological Tables No. 72 and 278.

Mr. Wilson, Sept. 1835, observes of Makeen Lodhee, one of the approvers, that "he is one of the best men I have ever known!" and I believe that Makeen may be trusted in any relation of life save that between a Thug who has taken the *auspices* and a traveller with something worth taking upon him. They all look upon travellers as a sportsman looks upon hares and pheasants; and they recollect their

large gangs who were in February to rendezvous at Jypore, and proceed into Guzerat and Candeish. Seeing me disposed to doubt his authority upon a point of so much importance, he requested me to put him to the proof—to take him through the village of Selohda, which lay two stages from Saugor on the road to Seronge, and through which I was about to pass in my tour of the district, of which I had received the civil charge, and he would show me his ability and inclination to give me correct information. I did so, and my tents were pitched, where tents usually are, in the small mango grove. I reached them in the evening, and when I got up in the morning he pointed out three places, in which he and his gang had deposited at different intervals the bodies of three parties of travellers. A Pundit and six attendants murdered in 1818, lay among the ropes of my sleeping tent, a Havildar and four Sipahaes murdered in 1824, lay under my horses, and four Brahman carriers of Ganges water and a woman murdered soon after the Pundit, lay within my sleeping tent.* The sward had grown over the

favorite *Beles*, or places for murder, as sportsmen recollect their best sporting grounds, and talk of them, when they can, with the same kind of glee!

* The principal leaders of the gangs, by whom these Brahmuns were murdered, were Brahmuns. Aman, the cousin of Feringeea, and Dirgpaul, both Subahdars of Thugs.

whole, and not the slightest sign of its ever having been broken was to be seen. The thing seemed to me incredible; but after examining attentively a small brick terrace close by, and the different trees around, he declared himself prepared to stake his life upon the accuracy of his information. My wife was still sleeping over the grave of the water-carriers unconscious of what was doing or to be done.* I assembled the people of the surrounding villages, and the Thanadar and his police, who resided in the village of Korae close by, and put the people to work over the grave of the Havildar. They dug down five feet without perceiving the slightest signs of the bodies or of a grave. All the people assembled seemed delighted to think that I was become weary like themselves, and satisfied that the man was deranged; but there was a calm and quiet confidence about him that made me insist upon their going on, and at last we came upon the bodies of the whole five laid out precisely as he had described. My wife, still unconscious of our object in digging, had repaired to the breakfast tent which was pitched at some distance from the grove; and I now had the ropes of the tent removed, and the

* She has often since declared that she never had a night of such horrid dreams, and that, while asleep, her soul must consequently have become conscious of the dreadful crimes that had been there perpetrated.

bodies of the Pundit and his six companions in a much greater state of decay, exhumed from about the same depth, and from the exact spot pointed out. The Cawrutties were afterwards disinterred, and he offered to point out others in the neighbouring groves, but I was sick of the horrid work, and satisfied with what he had already done.* The gangs which were concentrating upon Jypore were pursued, and the greater part of them taken; and Feringeea's life was spared for his services.

19. While I was in the Civil charge of the district of Nursingpore, in the valley of the Nurbuddah, in the years 1822, 23, and 24, no ordinary robbery or theft could be committed without my becoming acquainted with it; nor was there a robber or a thief of the ordinary kind in the district, with whose character I had not become acquainted in the discharge of my duty as Magistrate; and if any man had then told me, that a gang of assassins by profession resided in the village of *Kundelee*, not four hundred yards

* The proprietor of the village of Selohda connived at all this, and received the horse of the Pundit in a present. Several of the gang resided in this village, and the rest used to encamp in his grove every year in passing, and remain there for many days at a time feasting, carousing and murdering. The people of the village and of the surrounding country knew nothing of these transactions, nor did the police of the thana of Korae.

from my court, and that the extensive groves of the village of Mundesur, only one stage from me, on the road to Saugor and Bhopaul, was one of the greatest *Beles*, or places of murder in all India; and that large gangs from Hindustan and the Duckun used to rendezvous in these groves, remain in them for many days together every year, and carry on their dreadful trade along all the lines of road that pass by and branch off from them, with the knowledge and connivance of the two land holders by whose ancestors these groves had been planted, I should have thought him a fool or a mad man; and yet nothing could have been more true. The bodies of a hundred travellers lie buried in and around the *groves* of *Mundesur*; and a gang of assassins lived in and about the village of Kundelee while I was Magistrate of the district, and extended their depredations to the cities of Poona and Hydrabad.

* 20. The first party of men I sent into the Duckun to aid Captain Reynolds, who had been selected by Colonel Stewart to superintend the

* *Extract of a letter from Mr. Cameron, Assistant Resident, Hydrabad, to Captain Reynolds, dated 21st Sept. 1835.*

"I have the honor to acquaint you that in consequence of the information given by Salim Khan and Ramzanee, lately seized, and whose depositions have been forwarded to you, that murders have lately been committed by Thugs at Hussain Shahwallie's Durgah, Sudasheopett and Begumpett, the Resident has directed the mootsuddy and a party with the

employment of our means for the suppression of the system in the Nizam's dominions, recognized in the person of one of the most respectable *linen drapers* of the cantonments of Hingolee,

two persons lately apprehended, to proceed to these places for the purpose of disinterring the bodies, and obtaining such other information as may tend to convict the parties implicated, as it is very probable that more of the Thugs concerned in these murders may be hereafter apprehended.

It also appears that numerous Thugs have lately resorted to the city and its environs probably occasioned by the present active pursuit, and the Resident is of opinion that the presence of an intelligent mootsuddy for sometime with a party of approvers acquainted with the Thugs in this part of the country, might be attended with advantage, particularly as the seizure of Thugs, who can by their own testimony show that they were implicated in murders unknown until pointed out by themselves, may tend to convince persons as yet incredulous of the existence of this systematic mode of assassination."

Extract of a letter from Colonel Stewart, Resident at Hydrabad, to Captain Sleeman, dated 6th Oct. 1835.

Para. 4.—" I beg to observe that the recent apprehension of two Thugs at the place, who have made confession and have pointed out the dead bodies of persons lately murdered by them and their fraternity, close to the city, seems to have had a striking effect in convincing the minister of the reality of the existence in such numbers of these miscreants, of which I fear he formerly doubted. A strong proof of this is the circumstance that one person in the city who was denounced as a Thug having made his escape, the minister himself sent his own people in pursuit of him, had him apprehended and sent to me. I cannot doubt therefore now that there is the most sincere desire on the part of this government to extirpate Thuggee throughout this country.

Huree Sing, the adopted son of Jowahir Sookul, Subadar of Thugs, who had twenty years before been executed with twenty-one of his followers at Aggur for the murder of a party of two women and eight men close to the cantonments. On hearing that the Huree Sing of the list sent to him of noted Thugs at large in the Duckun was the Huree Sing of the Sudder Bazar, Captain Reynolds was quite astounded, for so correct had he been in his deportment and all his dealings, that he had won the esteem of all the gentlemen of the station, who used to assist him in procuring passports for his goods on their way from Bombay ; and yet he had, as he has since himself shown, been carrying on his trade of murder up to the very day of his arrest with gangs of Hindustan and the Duckun on all the roads around, and close to the cantonments of Hingolee ; and leading out his gang of assassins while he pretended to be on his way to Bombay for a supply of fresh linens and broad cloth. Captain Reynolds had for several years up to this time had the civil charge of the district of Hingolee, without having had the slightest suspicion of the numerous murders that he has now discovered to have been every year perpetrated within his jurisdiction.*

* The following is an extract from the narrative of this Hurree Sing alias Hureea, taken at Hingolee.

" A year and half before I was arrested at Hingolee, in " June 1832, I set up a shop in the bazar of the Golundauz

21. In Oude and other parts of India where the fields are irrigated from wells, the bodies of

" in the Hingolee cantonments. I used before to bring " cloths from Berar to the cantonments for sale; and be- " came intimately acquainted with Maha Sing, Subahdar of " the Golundauzes. I told him that I should like to set up " a shop in his bazar; and he advised me to do so, and got " the Cotwal to assign me a place. I set up a linen-draper's " shop, and I went several times with other shop-keepers to " Bombay to purchase a stock of broad cloths and other " articles. The people of the cantonments knew that I used " to deal to the extent of several hundred rupees.

" When I resided at Omrowtee about seven years ago, I " used to come to Hingolee and lodge in the house of Ram " Sing, Thug, who has since been seized and sent to Jubul- " pore. Sometimes I came with the gangs on Thuggee and " sometimes as a merchant with cloths for sale. When I " came with cloths I used to stay for fifteen or twenty days " at a time in the Moghul Sowar lines, and other places. " After the release of Hurnagur and his gang from Hingo- " lee after the Girgow murders, I, with Maunkhan, the two " Nasirs, Chotee approver and others, killed three Mar- " waries; and after this Imam and Chotee got seized at " Saugor, and this was reported to me by Kureem Khan and " others who came to Omrowtee from the Nurbudda valley; " and I thought that I might be pointed out and arrested. " This was my reason for leaving Omrowtee for Hingolee. " When I was arrested I had determined to leave off " Thuggee, and intended to go and reside at Bombay. I " used to go out occasionally on Thuggee after I settled at " Hingolee, and when the gangs of Thugs encamped on the " tank or lodged in the Dhurumsalah, I used to converse " with them; but I never let them know where I resided. " Ismael Thug, who is now an approver, used to reside in

travellers murdered by these people are frequently found by the cultivators and land holders who take them out and bury them without any report to the police, knowing that they are the bodies of travellers so murdered, whose distant friends are not likely to trouble them with any enquiries. In some instances we have found that they save themselves this trouble by throwing in some dead carcase in order to account for the offensive smell of the putrid bodies, should any one have the curiosity to enquire the cause. Such, in short, are the precautions taken by these people to conceal their murders both before and after they take place, that they may be every year perpetrated in the district of the

" the bazar of the fifth Regiment, and he served Captain
" Scott as a Gareewan. Mohna, alias Ruhman, used also to
" reside here sometimes. Bahleen also used to live and
" work in the bazar, but they used all three to go on the
" roads, as many travellers used to pass and no one sought
" after Thugs. Any skilful party might have had three or
" four *affairs* every night without any one being the wiser
" for it. People knew not what Thuggee was, nor what
" kind of people Thugs were. Travellers were frequently
" reported to have been murdered by robbers, but people
" thought the robbers must be in the jungles; and never
" dreamed that they were murdered by the men they saw
" every day about them. I never invited a Thug to my
" house, nor did I ever expose any of the articles obtained
" in Thuggee for sale. I was much respected by the people
" of the town and cantonments and never suspected till
" arrested."

most vigilant Magistrate without his having any knowledge or suspicion of them; and their subsequent discovery must not be considered to detract from his character as a public officer unless it can be shown that he has discouraged the free report of those circumstances that might have led to the discovery earlier.

22. The extent of good above described has been effected by the arrest of above two thousand Thugs, who have been tried at Indore, Hydrabad, Saugor and Jubulpore. One hundred and fifty have been tried and convicted at Indore, eighty-four at Hydrabad; and at Saugor and Jubulpore above twelve hundred have been convicted, in one hundred and sixty seven trials, of the murder of nine hundred and forty-seven persons; while about two hundred and fifty have, in all these trials at Indore, Hydrabad, Saugor and Jubulpore, been admitted as King's evidences on the conditions of exemption from the punishment of death and transportation beyond seas for all past offences, provided they placed all those offences on record when required to do so, and assisted in the arrest of their associates in crime.

23. These men are commonly tried for one particular case of murder, perpetrated on one expedition, in which case all the gang may have participated, and in which the evidence is the most complete. On an average more than ten

TABULAR STATEMENT of the result of the Trials for the Suppression of the

Years.	Stations.	Committed by.	Tried by.
1826,	Jubulpore,	Mr. Fraser and Major Wardlow, ..	Mr. Wilder, Agent Gr. Gl.,
1828,	Dholeea in Candeish,	Mr. Boyd, Magistrate, ...	Mr. Kentish, Sessions Judge, ...
1829,	Indore, ...	Major Borthwick, ..	Col. Stewart, then Resident at Indore, ...
,,	Dholeea in Candeish,	Major Hodges, ..	Mr. Marriott, Sessions Judge, ...
1830,	Jubulpore,	Capt. Sleeman, ...	Mr. Smith, Agt. Gr. Gl.,
1832,	Indore, ...	Major Borthwick, ..	Mr. Martin and Mr. Wellesley, Residents, ..
,,	Saugor, ..	Capt. Sleeman, ...	Mr. Smith, Agt. Gr. Gl.,
1833,	Ditto, ...	Capt. Sleeman, and Mr. McLeod and Mr. Wilson, ..	Ditto, ...
,,	Hydrabad,	Capt. Reynolds, ...	Col. Stewart, Resident, ..
,,	Poona, ...	Mr. J. H. Baber, ..	Mr. Marriott, Sessions Judge, ...
1833-34,	Cawnpore,	Mr. Wilson, ...	Mr. Stockwell and others,
1833,	Ghazeepore,	Mr. E. P. Smith, ..	Mr. C. W. Smith, Sessions Judge, ...
1834,	Benares,	Mr. Morrieson, ...	Mr. Taylor, ditto, ...
1835,	Indore, ...	Capt. Borthwick, ..	Mr. Bax, Resident, ...
1834,	Saugor,	Capt. Sleeman, Mr. McLeod and Mr. Wilson, ..	Mr. Smith, Agt. Gr. Gl.,
1835,	Jubulpore,	Capt. Sleeman and Capt. Reynolds, Mr. McLeod and Mr. Wilson, ..	Mr. Smith, ditto, ...
			Total, ...

Jubulpore, 14th October, 1835.

which have taken place at different places since the Operations System of Thuggee commenced.

Number of Prisoners committed.	SENTENCE.						Acquitted.	Escaped before Sentence.	Died before Sentence.	Made Approver before Committal.	Grand Total.	REMARKS.
	Death.	Transportation.	Imprisonment for life.	Do. on Security.	Limited Imprisonment.	Total.						
32	2	24	0	3	3	32	0	0	0	0	32	
6	4	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	The Magistrate of Mynporee seized them and sent them to Dholeea, in Candeish.
78	39	21	0	0	11	71	2	0	0	5	78	
13	2	6	1	0	0	9	4	0	0	0	13	
100	38	26	0	0	32	96	1	0	0	3	100	
40	21	12	0	0	3	36	0	0	0	4	40	
349	105	167	38	0	10	320	2	0	0	27	349	
207	40	156	3	2	0	201	0	0	6	0	207	
86	21	45	17	1	0	84	0	0	2	0	86	
23	19	0	0	4	0	23	0	0	0	0	23	
11	9	2	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	11	
8	6	2	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	8	
5	0	4	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	5	
19	5	12	0	0	2	19	0	0	0	0	19	
363	40	265	5	7	7	324	6	11	14	8	363	
222	31	165	3	4	3	206	5	0	9	2	222	
1562	382	909	77	21	71	1450	21	11	31	49	1562	

W. H. SLEEMAN, *Genl. Superintendent.*

of these cases have been found to occur on every expedition ; and every man has, on an average, been on more than ten of these expeditions. The murders for which they are tried are not, therefore, commonly more than a hundredth part of the murders they have perpetrated in the course of their career of crime. In the last Sessions held at Jubulpore by Mr. Smith for 1834-35, thirty-six cases from Hydrabad, committed by Captain Reynolds, and forty-two cases from other parts committed by myself, were tried, and two hundred and six prisoners convicted of the murder of four hundred and forty persons. Of these persons the bodies of three hundred and ninety had been disinterred and inquests held upon them, leaving only fifty-five unaccounted for.*

24. In the dominions of the King of Oude much has already been done by Colonel Low and Captain Paton ; and I have no doubt of a successful result to our efforts in that quarter

* These trials included several supplementary cases, or cases which had been tried before, but were brought on as other prisoners, who were not forthcoming when they were first tried, have been arrested and brought in for trial.

As Mr. Smith has now embarked for the Cape, and will not therefore be able to report himself upon the last sessions, I think it my duty to state that he considered himself greatly indebted to the able exertions of his officiating personal assistant Lieut. Charles Brown, of the 18th Regt. N. I.

provided the pursuit be actively kept up in such of our districts as border upon them, and the local Magistrates continue to give the Oude authorities their cordial support and co-operation; nor have I much doubt of ultimate success in Western Malwa,* Guzerat, Rajpootana, and the Delhi territories. Great progress has been made in the extensive territories of the Nizam, south of the Nerbudda, by Captain Reynolds, under the auspices of the Resident, Colonel Stewart; and as the Bombay Government and local authorities in the conterminous districts of that Presidency have manifested the most anxious wish to co-operate, those of Madras will probably do the same, and we shall then have a fair prospect of ultimate success throughout the countries south of the Nerbudda.

25. Something has been done in Behar by Mr. Peploe Smith, a very active and intelligent Magistrate, and by Mr. C. W. Smith and others, and what has been done may lead to more; but the provinces of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, are those in which my hopes of final sucess are perhaps least sanguine.† The river Thugs of

* Indeed Major Borthwick's great success in Western Malwa has left but little to accomplish in that quarter.

† A party of nine sipahees and a Non-Commissioned Officer, all from the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, were murdered by a gang of Thugs close to Patna in the beginning

Bengal,‡ (a) who reside chiefly in the district of Burdwan, on the banks of the Hooghly, will defy

of May 1833, while on their way to their homes on furlough. A party of eight sipahees from the 70th and other regiments were murdered by the same people between Ghazeepore and Buxar in August last, and numerous other parties of the same kind have no doubt fallen victims to the system which has as yet received little or no check on the roads east of Ghazeepore.

The returns which I have called for from all the Native Regiments of the Bengal Army of the casualties among the men who have gone on furlough this season, will, I hope, bear me out in the conclusion that the roads in all the other parts above described are now free from the depredations of these gangs.

W. H. SLEEMAN.

The following communication received while these sheets were in the press, furnishes a satisfactory confirmation of the opinion above expressed.—ED.

To W. H. MACNAGHTEN, ESQ.

Secy. to the Govt. of India, Fort William.

SIR,

I cannot deny myself the gratification of forwarding for submission to Government, a copy of one of the replies to my Circular Letter to the Commanding Officers of all the Native Regiments in the Bengal Army, written for the purpose of ascertaining the result of our operations as far as regards the security of the roads to our Native troops going on and returning from furlough.

(a) For Note vide page 43.

all our efforts unless some special measure be adopted by Government for the suppression of

With the exception of the provinces into which our operations have not extended, all the Returns yet received exhibit the same satisfactory results.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) W. H. SLEEMAN, *Gen. Supt.*

Camp Dhamunee, Gen. Supt.'s Office, the 4th Dec., 1835.

Mhow, 24th November, 1835.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that the whole of the Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers and Sepoys of the Regiment under my command, have rejoined from general leave of absence, with exception of two, who are reported sick and in hospital.

I have also much pleasure in mentioning that not a man of this corps has been missing for the last four or five years, and such is the safe state of the roads now, that I have sent two servants twice from hence to Rewah and Cawnpore, and once from Saugor to Rewah in 1832, and they met with no annoyance; and so changed are the natives that one or two will now most willingly proceed from hence on any duty without the least fear of Thugs; whereas in 1829-30 when stationed at Saugor, no number under 20 or 30 and *well armed*, could venture a couple of miles from cantonment.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. S. MACLAREN, *Major*,
Commanding 16th Regiment.

To W. H. SLEEMAN,
Gen. Supt., Jubulpore.

(True Copy)

W. H. SLEEMAN, *Gen. Supt.*

their system, and we have, to promote its success, a combination of circumstances almost too favorable to be hoped for. They are supposed to be between two and three hundred,‡ and to employ about twenty boats, which pass up and down the Ganges during the months of November, December, January, and February. Each boat is provided with a crew of about fourteen persons, all Thugs, but employed in different capacities. Some are employed in pulling the boat along by a rope, and appear like the dandies or rowers and pullers of ordinary boats; some as *Sothas*, or inveiglers, follow the boats along the roads

‡ *The following have been mentioned to me as the principal leaders of this class.*

NAMES.	*Age.*	*Cast.*	*Boats.*	*Thugs.*	REMARKS.
Sham Sirkar, ..	60	Brahman,	2	25	
Huree Sirkar, ..	65	Ditto, ..	2	30	
Naraen Baboo, ..	32	Ditto, ..	7	50	
Khuruck Baboo,	35	Kaet, ..	7	50	
Deendar Alee, ..	40	Musulman,	0	10	Hires a boat from Khuruck Baboo.
Sewdeeal Baboo,	25	Brahman,	0	8	Hires a boat from Naraen Baboo.
Jeddhun, ...	35	Doosad, ..	0	9	Hires a boat from Naraen Baboo.
Jypaul, ...	30	Kaet, ..	0	20	Hires a boat from Naraen Baboo.
Shek Momeen, ..	56	Musulman,	0	20	Acts in conjunction with Huree Sirkar, and in his boats. The owner of the boats gets for the boat the share of one man.
			18	222	W. H. S.

that run parallel with the river, and by various arts prevail upon travellers to embark as passengers on board their boats, where they find many Thugs well dressed and of the most respectable appearance, pretending to be going on or returning from a pilgrimage to the holy places of Guya, Benares, Allahabad, &c. These are the stranglers and their assistants, who on a signal given by the man at the helm on deck *(Bykureea)*, strangle the travellers, break their back bones and push them out of a window in the side into the river. Each boat has one of these windows on each side, and they are thrust out of that facing the river.

26. Several boats belonging to the same association follow each other at the distance of from four to six miles, and when the travellers show any signs of disliking or distrusting the inveigler of one, or any disinclination to embark at the ghat where his boat is to be found, the inveigler of the one in advance learns it by signs from the other, as he and the travellers overtake him. The new inveigler gets into conversation with the travellers, and pretends to dislike the appearance of the first, who in his turn, pretends to be afraid of the new one, and lags behind, while the new man and the travellers congratulate each other on having shaken off so suspicious a character. These men never shed blood, and if any drop

touch them they must return and offer sacrifices of some kind or other. They never keep any article that can lead to suspicion, as their boats are constantly liable to be searched by the custom-house officers. Nothing I believe could tempt them to murder a woman. This class contain Mahommudans and Hindoos of all casts, and they go up the river Ganges as far as Benares, and sometimes even as far as Cawnpore it is said; and they carry on their depredations as well going down as coming up the river. The Lodahas, Moteeas, and Jumaldehee Thugs, who reside in Behar and Bengal, are all acquainted with them, as the principal scene of their operations is along the banks of the Ganges and other large rivers into which they throw the bodies of their victims. Their resting places or Thapas, are almost always upon the banks of these rivers, where the large and most frequented roads approach nearest to them; and there they remain for a long time together, destroying such travellers as they can persuade to spend the night with them. When they fall in with the boats, and see a chance of a good prize, some of the members of their gang go on board and assist in the murder; and the whole gang shares equally with that of the boatmen in the spoil.

27. Our present plan of operations for the suppression of this system commenced with the

arrest of a large gang from Hindoostan on its return from an expedition into the Duckun by Captain, now Major Borthwick, Political Agent at Mahidpore;* and that of another by me in Bhopaul in the beginning of 1830.† These arrests were attended by a combination of cir-

* Major Borthwick, on the 7th of November 1831, accompanied by Captain McMahon and a party of two hundred of the Jowra Cavalry Contingent, made a night march of thirty miles, and arrested an entire gang of forty-six of these murderers, with property to the value of about twelve thousand rupees, which they had brought home from a recent expedition in which they had murdered a great many persons. His exertions in the cause have been unwearied, and eminently successful, and the gangs of Western Malwa have been almost entirely extirpated by his means.—*See Appendix X.*

† A gang of one hundred and five was arrested by Mr. Molony as they were crossing the valley of the Nerbudda from the Duckun after the Lucknadown murders in 1823. The bodies of the murdered people were pointed out and taken up at the time, but the death of Mr. Molony and other circumstances deferred the trial till 1830. Another large gang was arrested on its return from the Duckun over the same road by Captain Wardlow in 1826, and sent to Mr. C. Fraser at Jubulpore. He had the bodies of a great number of people whom they had murdered along the road disinterred; and having committed the case for trial to Mr. Wilder, then Agent of the Governor General at Jubulpore, they were all convicted, and punished. Another was seized by Major Henley at Bhopaul; and these several seizures may be considered as having laid the foundation of the subsequent proceedings in having furnished such numerous sources of information.

cumstances so fortunate, that a man might consider them as providential without exposing himself to the charge of superstition. The feelings of every one whose feelings were of any importance to the cause, from the Governor General Lord Wm. Bentinck and Vice President in Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe, to the humblest individual, seemed to be deeply and simultaneously interested in promoting its success. Colonel Stewart, who was at the time the representative of the Government at the Court of Indore, tried the gang arrested by Captain Borthwick, under instructions from the Supreme Government; and he long afterwards declared "that he considered the share he "had had in bringing these men to punishment "as by far the most useful part of his public "life," though few men in India have, I believe, had a more useful career. Mr. Smith, who was the Governor General's representative in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, has felt the same with regard to his share in bringing the other gangs to punishment.

28. The Government observed upon the trial of the Mahidpore gang—

"These murders having been perpetrated in "territories belonging to various native chiefs, "and the perpetrators being inhabitants of "various districts belonging to different autho-

" rities, there is no chief in particular, to whom " we could deliver them for punishment, as their " sovereign, or as the prince of the territory in " which the crime had been committed."

" The hand of these inhuman monsters being " against every one, and there being no country " within the range of their annual excursions " from Bundelcund to Guzerat in which they " have not committed murder, it appears to His " Lordship in Council, that they may be consi-" dered like pirates, to be placed without the " pale of social law, and be subjected to condign " punishment by whatever authority they may " be seized and convicted."*

29. It is a principle of the law of nations, recognized I believe by every civilized people, that assassins by profession shall find in no country a sanctuary, but shall every where be delivered up to the Sovereign who reclaims them and in whose dominions they have perpetrated their crimes ; and as the crimes of these assassins are never confined to the country in which they reside, and as every country in India must now be considered as under the protection of

* See Mr. Secretary Swinton's letter to Colonel Stewart of the 23d October 1829. To few men is the success which has attended these operations more attributable than to Mr. George Swinton, who was then Chief Secretary to Government and is now in Europe.

the Supreme Government in some relation or other, that Government very properly undertook the duty which seemed to be imposed upon it by the laws of humanity and of nations, and determined to reclaim them from every State in which they might seek shelter.*

30. Unhappily there are in India few native chiefs who have any great feelings of sympathy even with the inhabitants of their own territories beyond their own family or clan, or any particular desire to protect them from the robber or

* "Although the justice of each nation ought in general "to be confined to the punishment of crimes committed in "its own territories, we ought to except from this rule "those villains, who by the nature and habitual frequency "of their crimes violate all public security, and declare "themselves the enemies of the human race. Poisoners, "assassins, and incendiaries by profession, may be exter-"minated wherever they are seized : for they attack and "injure all nations, by trampling under foot the founda-"tions of their common safety. Thus pirates are sent to "the gibbet by the first into whose hands they fall. If the "sovereign of the country where crimes of that nature have "been committed, reclaims the perpetrators of them in "order to bring them to punishment, they ought to be sur-"rendered to him, as being the person who is principally "interested in punishing them in an exemplary manner. "And as it is proper to have criminals regularly convicted "by a trial in due form of law, this is a second reason for "delivering up malefactors of that class to the States where "their crimes have been committed.—*Cattel's Law of Nature and Nations, Book I. Chap.* 19.

the assassin; and no instance can I believe be found of one extending his sympathies or his charities to the people of any other territory. They have, however, all a feeling of strong pride in claiming for their own territory the privilege of a sanctuary for the robbers and assassins of all other territories; while their public officers of every description and landholders of every degree convert this privilege, when conceded to their chiefs, into a source of revenue for themselves.

31. From the time that our government assumed, under the Marquis of Hastings, its true and dignified position as the protector of the society of India generally against the savage inroads of the Pindary hordes, the native chiefs considered themselves as standing, with regard to us, in a relation entirely new; and bound to obey our call for aid and support in the suppression of any system prejudicial to the general interest and welfare of the community. They all knew that this system of merciless and indiscriminate assassination was still more general than that of the Pindaries, that it was the growth of ages, extended all over India, and being founded in the faith of religious *ordinance* and *dispensation*, had become so deeply rooted in the soil, that nothing but the interposition, under providence, of the Supreme Government, and the acquiescence, support and co-operation of all its dependent chiefs, could possibly extir-

pate it. But, as in the case of the Pindaries, many of these native chiefs or their officers and landholders, nevertheless sacrificed with reluctance, the revenues they were in the habit of deriving from these people, and with still more the pride of being thought able to afford to them that asylum which others were obliged to deny, and consequently, the *reputation* of being able to refuse with impunity an acquiescence which others were obliged to concede to the Supreme Government; and such men availed themselves with avidity of the indolence, or indifference of the European functionaries by whom our Government happened to be represented. Happily they have been very rare, and the obstacles which they have caused very few; while the instances of the cordial, zealous, and active co-operation of such functionaries have been very numerous.*

32. But it must be admitted that this evil has prevailed in our own provinces as much as

* In addition to the Political functionaries already named I should name as having given us their cordial support and valuable aid—The Honorable R. Cavendish as Resident at the Court of Gwalior; Major Alves as Political Agent in Bhopaul and Agent in Rajpootana; Colonel Spiers as Acting Agent in Rajpootana and Political Agent at Neemuch; Mr. Wilkinson, Political Agent in Bhopaul; Captain Wade, Political Agent at Loodheeana; Mr. Græme and Colonel Briggs, Residents at the Court of Nagpore; Captains Robin-

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES LIBRARY ACC. EGMORE, MADRAS-600 008

in Native States; and if I were called upon to state any single cause which has operated more than any other to promote its extension, I should say it was the *illogical* application in practice of the maxim, "that it is better ten guilty men "should *escape* than that one innocent man "should *suffer*." It is no doubt better that ten guilty men should *escape* the *punishment of death*, and all the eternal consequences which may result from it, than that one innocent man should suffer *that punishment*; but it is not better that ten assassins by profession should escape, and be left freely and impudently to follow every where their murderous trade than that one innocent man should *suffer the inconvenience of temporary restraint*; and wherever the maxim has been so understood and acted upon the innocent have been necessarily punished for the guilty. In a country like India, abounding in associations of this kind, and with every facility they could desire to promote their success, and with little communion of thought or feeling between the governing and the governed, the necessity of prosecuting gang robbers and murderers with such a maxim so understood and acted upon,

son and Johnstone as Assistants and Officiating Residents at the Court of Holcar; Mr. Williams and Colonel Balfour at Baroda; Major Ross, Political Agent at Kota; and though last not least Mr. Ainslie and Mr. Begbie as Agents to the Governor General at Bundelcund.

is often found to be a greater source of evil to the families and village communities who have suffered than the robbers and murderers themselves; for the probability is always in favor of the criminals being released, however notorious their character and guilt, to wreak their vengeance upon them at their leisure, after the innocent and the sufferers have been ruined by the loss of time and labour wasted in attendance upon the Courts to give unavailing evidence.

33. It is a maxim with these assassins that "dead men tell no tales," and upon this maxim they invariably act. They permit no living witness to their crimes to escape, and therefore never attempt the murder of any party until they can feel secure of being able to murder the whole. They will travel with a party of unsuspecting travellers for days, and even weeks together, eat with them, sleep with them, attend divine worship with them at the holy shrines on the road, and live with them in the closest terms of intimacy till they find time and place suitable for the murder of the whole. Having in the course of ages matured a system by which the attainment of any other direct evidence to their guilt is rendered almost impossible, they bind each other to secresy by the most sacred oaths that their superstition can afford; and such associations never desire from any government a clearer *license* to their merciless depredations

than a copy of the rule, "that the testimony of "any number of confessing prisoners shall not "be considered a sufficient ground to authorize "the detention of their associates;" for if the confessing prisoners escape the laws of the country, they are put to death by the laws of the association. To suppress associations of this kind in such a country and such a society as those of India, a departure from rules like these, however suitable to ordinary times and circumstances, and to a more advanced and a more rational system of society, becomes indispensably necessary; and as they have matured their system to deprive all governments of every other kind of direct evidence to their guilt but the testimony of their associates, it behoves all Governments, in order to relieve society from so intolerable an evil, to mature another by which their testimonies shall be rendered effectual for their conviction without endangering the safety of the innocent.* This I hope has now been done, but

* In the view here given of the system, and of the inadequacy of the ordinary tribunals, under the ordinary rules of procedure, to suppress it, I have no doubt that every sensible Magistrate in India will coincide. The very able Magistrate of Chittoor in his letter of the 6th December 1809, states para. 11th, "It is only necessary to consider the habits of the "Faseegars to be convinced of the extreme difficulty of disco-"vering and convicting them, and how inadequate the ordinary "measures of police and the operation of the present laws are "for effecting those objects. The scene of their crimes is always "out of their own district, and seldom within thirty miles of

it can never be rendered so perfect as not to depend in some measure upon the personal character of the officers entrusted with its superintendence. There is no duty which requires higher qualifications for its proper discharge; and if these qualifications be not considered a

" their usual places of abode: they are sometimes absent " from their homes for several months together, and take " journeys of many hundred miles: their victims are generally Travellers with whose circumstances they become " acquainted at public choultries: they frequently change " their names and sometimes go by several names, the better " to prevent detection: they murder their victims at a distance from towns or large villages, in public roads leading " through jungles, or uncultivated land in which they bury " their bodies: they sometimes take with them some of their " children (boys under twelve years of age) the less to attract " notice and suspicion; the head man of the gang sometimes " rides on a horse, and they have generally with them some " Bullocks or Tattoo Ponies to carry the plundered property; and by these means they more readily pass for " merchants, the character they frequently assume. A gang " is always sufficiently numerous to allow of several persons " belonging to it being stationed at a short distance from the " places where their victims are put to death, to give alarm " in case of the approach of danger; and they never commit " a robbery unaccompanied with murder: they first strangle " their victims and then plunder them."

To the causes above stated I may add the perpetual changes in the magistracy of districts, inseparable from our scheme of civil administration, which prevent any one from becoming well acquainted with the character and circumstances of the people, and from feeling any desire to be so.

point of paramount importance in the nomination of officers to the department, Government will certainly not do its duty to the society.

34. The trial of these people for murders perpetrated in the Hydrabad and Indore dominions, was with the consent of the Nizam and Holcar Governments, made over to the British Residents at their respective Courts, but subject to the revision and final orders of the Supreme Government. That of those charged with murders perpetrated in the Oude territory, has, with the consent of the King, been made over to the Resident at that Court. The trial of those charged with murders perpetrated in any other territory, and beyond the limits of districts in which our Regulations are in force, was made over to the Governor General's Agent in the Saugor and Nurbudda territories, who has since for the time been entrusted, for special reasons assigned by the Resident and approved by Government, with the trial of those charged with the murders in the Hydrabad territories also.

35. Thugs charged with murders perpetrated in the districts where our Regulations are in force were to be made over for trial to the regular tribunals; but, with the sanction of Government previously obtained in any particular case, the venue might be changed from the Court of any one district to that of another, or to that of the

Special Commissioner for the whole, Mr. Stockwell, then Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, who consented to undertake that in addition to his other duties, and who conducted, in that capacity, the trial of one of our most interesting and important cases committed to him by Mr. Wilson.

36. When I first undertook the duty of superintending the operation for the arrest of these gangs, and of collecting the evidence for the cases in which they were to be committed for trial, the most laborious and painful that I have ever performed, I had the civil charge of the district of Jubulpore on the Nurbudda river. As that of Saugor was more central, and consequently more eligible, I was in January 1831 transferred to the civil charge of that district during the absence of Mr. C. Fraser on sick leave to the hills. On his return in January 1832 he resumed charge of the revenue and civil duties, and left me the criminal, which I continued to discharge till January 1835, while Captain Low continued to officiate for me in the civil charge of the Jubulpore district. By the resolution of Government of the 10th January 1835 my head-quarters were transferred back to Jubulpore; and having the general superintendence of all proceedings preliminary to trial over the whole field of our operations, which had now extended from Lahore to the Carnatic, I was relieved from every other charge.

37. In May 1832 Captain Reynolds was appointed to superintend our operations south of the Nurbudda.* In September 1832 Mr. Wilson was appointed to superintend those between the Ganges and the Jumna ;† and in February 1833, Mr. McLeod was appointed to superintend those in Rajpootana, Malwa, and the Delhi territories ;‡ and three officers with higher qualifications, for the very delicate and responsible duty in their respective spheres of action could not, I believe, have been any where found.

On the 10th of January 1835 Lieutenant Briggs, a very active and intelligent officer, was appointed to succeed Mr. McLeod in Malwa and Rajpootana, and Lieutenant Elwall, an officer equally well qualified, was appointed to assist Captain Reynolds south of the Nurbudda ; and Captain Paton, Assistant to the Resident at the Court of Lucknow, was withdrawn from the general duties of the Residency that he might afford his valuable aid exclusively to this department in Oude.

38. In March 1831 a tuman or company of Nujeebs§ was added to the Jubulpore local police

* 12th May 1832. † 14th Sep. 1832. ‡ 21st Feb. 1833.

§ 19th March 1835, 1 Tumandar 30 ; 1 Naeb ditto 15 ; 8 Dufadars 80 ; 85 Nujeebs 425 ; 1 Motsudee 10 ; 1 Behishtee 4.

corps, exclusively for employment under me in this duty; and in April another company was added to the same corps for employment under Captain Reynolds, south of the Nurbudda.* The officer commanding the Saugor Division, Brigadier General O'Halloran, anxious to afford his aid in promoting the success of an undertaking of so much importance to the society of India generally and to the native army in particular, had given me the services of a detachment, under the command of an excellent native officer Rustum Khan,† in Bundlecund; and Brigadier General Smith, since he succeeded to the command, has been equally anxious to afford his aid on all proper occasions. In July 1833, when our means had become inadequate for the vast field over which our operations extended, Messieurs Wilson and McLeod were, under

* 27th April 1835, of the same strength as above.

By retaining charge of the criminal department at Saugor, I had the assistance of the district police for our operations; and that of a Risalah (troop) of Captain now Major C. Smyth's excellent corps of local horse, to whose exertions I feel myself greatly indebted.

† Rustum Khan, Subahdar Major of the 71st Regiment Native Infantry, was afterwards sent by me to assist Captain Paton in Oude, where his services have been again eminently useful.

instructions from Government,* allowed by the officers commanding the Divisions in which they were employed each a detachment of forty regular sipahees under a native commissioned officer, and twenty troopers from the corps of local horse under a Dufadar.

39. Knowing how many of their comrades used annually to be murdered by these assassins on their way home to their families on furlough, the pursuit after them is a duty which these regular sipahees very cheerfully perform, and are indeed extremely proud of; and as the knowledge which they acquire in the course of its discharge of their mode of inveigling and destroying travellers is communicated to all the men of their regiments when they rejoin, their employment on this has been unquestionably and will continue to be of great advantage to the whole native army.

40. Thus far our highest political functionaries have afforded their aid in the arrest and the trial of these criminals cheerfully and gratuitously. Colonel Stewart, Mr. Wellesley, Mr. Martin and Mr. Bax successively at

* 40 Sipahees under a native Commissioned Officer; 20 Sowars under a Dufadar for each of those two gentlemen. See proceedings of the Governor General in Council, 28th June 1833.

Indore, Colonel Stewart again at Hydrabad, and Mr. F. C. Smith in the more laborious office of the Saugor and Nurbudda Agency; and proud indeed might any man feel, however exalted his station, to be able to contribute his aid to the great work of relieving a society of one hundred millions of his fellow creatures from an evil so great, and so calculated from its character, and that of the deluded people among whom it has fallen to penetrate and poison every source of confidence and security between man and man.

41. Among the people of India almost every man is married as soon as he has attained the proper age, and his parents can afford the expenses of the marriage ceremonies. The younger sons of poor but respectable families seek employment in distant public establishments, Civil or Military, while their wives and children remain united with the family under the care of their father or their elder brother, and the ties of duty and affection between them and their parents are never broken or impaired by any length of absence, or any new interests or connexions. During their absence these sons subject themselves to all kinds of privations in order that they may be able to send home the largest possible share of their incomes; and derive their greatest happiness from the hope of returning occasionally and enjoying for short

and distant intervals, the society of their families thus united and bound together by ties so amiable. If any die their widows and children still remain with the family, and are maintained by the survivors ; and all " delight to honor" the widow who honors the memory of her deceased husband. It is upon such families, who are to be found in almost every town in India, that the evil of this system of assassination presses most heavily*. If the absent members do not return at the time they are expected, others proceed in search of them ; and since I

* Dr. Sherwood in his valuable Papers written at Madras in 1816, observes—

" While Europeans have journeyed through the extensive " Territories subject to the Government of Fort Saint " George, with a degree of security no where surpassed, the " path of the Native Traveller has been beset with perils " little known or suspected, into which, numbers annually " falling, have mysteriously disappeared, the victims of " villains as subtle, rapacious, and cruel, as any who are to " be met with in the records of human depravity. There is " no reason to believe that Europeans were aware of the " existence of such criminals as *Phansigars*, until shortly " after the conquest of *Seringapatam* in 1799, when about a " hundred were apprehended in the vicinity of *Bangalore*. " They did not engage general attention, nor would it appear " they were suspected to belong to a distint class of hereditary murderers and plunderers settled in various parts " of *India*, and alike remarkable for the singularity of their " practice, and the extent of their depredations. In the " year 1807, between *Chittoor* and *Arcot*, several *Phansigars* " were apprehended belonging to a gang which had just

undertook this duty numbers have flocked to me to enquire after the fate of those whom they had long lost. Often in my court have I seen them listening with unobtrusive grief to a circumstantial detail of the murder of their parents, brothers or children from the mouths of these cold-blooded and merciless assassins, while the tears stole down their cheeks; and taking from my stores of recovered property some sad token in arms, dress, or ornaments, of the melancholy truth to take home to the widows and children of the murdered, who might otherwise doubt their tale of sorrow, and entertain some lingering but unavailing hope of their return.*

42. Should it be thought necessary I may perhaps hereafter give a more connected history of the system and of our operations of its sup-

" returned, laden with booty from an expedition to *Travancore*, " and information was then obtained, which ultimately led " to the developement of the habits and combinations of " these atrocious delinquents."

* In January 1831, a small gang was arrested and brought in to me at Saugor. One of the approvers, in deposing to the identity of one, mentioned that he had then on him unaltered the vest which they had taken some time before from Purtapa, a man whom they had murdered with his friend at the Gola pass, on their way from Indore to Bhopaul. I had it taken off and sent immediately by the letter dawk to the Resident at Indore, Mr. Wellesley. He was absent, but Captain Johnstone, the Assistant Resident, made the [illegible]

pression, but for the present I can only offer, in addition to the above observations, the almost

site enquiries and sent me the result. The reader may find it interesting. In the early stage of our proceedings such occurrences were very common.

Indore, 2d February 1831.

Humeerchund, Merchant of Indore, being called into court, gives the following statement:

" On Sunday the 10th of the month of Poos, Sumbut 1886, " (20th December 1829,) my brother Purtapa and my wife's " brother Sookloll, proceeded towards Sehore with a tattoo, " on which was loaded about 400 Rupees worth of English " Chintz, Mushroo, &c. They also carried with them 105 " Halee rupees in cash; and about 95 rupees of gold " and gold ornaments. Not having received any intelli- " gence of them for 25 days after their departure, I " became anxious about their safety and hired a man " to go to Sehore and make enquiries of my correspondents " there. I ascertained that they had never reached that place. " About three months afterwards my younger brother Hunsraj, " went in quest of information, and found traces of Purtapa and " Sooklall, having been murdered near the Gola pass, a short " distance beyond Tuppa.*

" *Question.*—Do you recollect the Ungurka which your " brother Purtapa wore when he left Indore?

" *Answer.*—Yes, it was made of Europe chintz and lined " with blue cotton."

The Ungurka sent by Captain Sleeman, which corresponded with the above description, was shewn to the witness who immedietely recognized it, and was so much affected as

* Tuppa, half way between Ashta and Rajpoogur, and a coss pucka this side of Amla. One going from Ashta descends the Ghat about a pucka coss before he reaches Tuppa.

literal translation of some conversations I have had with the approvers in revising the vocabulary of their peculiar dialect for the last time. These conversations were often carried on in the presence

scarcely to be able to speak. He took hold of the twisted silk cords attached to the Ungurka and said he had himself purchased them for his brother.

Hunsraj, brother of the preceding witness, being called, deposes as follows :—

" I returned to Indore from Rutlam about three months
" after my brother Purtapa was missing, and then proceeded
" towards Sehore for the purpose of enquiring after his fate.
" I ascertained that he and my relation Sooklall had stopped
" the first night after leaving Indore at Akeypoor, and the
" second at Peeplia. I found they had left Peeplia on the
" morning of the third day, but I could trace them no further.
" In the course of my enquiries at Tuppa, I was informed by
" a Bunya that the bodies of some persons had been found
" about three months previously near the Gola pass, about two
" coss to the eastward of the town. He said that a boy, the
" son of a Chumar belonging to Tuppa, observed a number of
" jackals and vultures near the pass, and had gone there in
" expectation of finding some dead animal and getting its skin.
" On reaching the spot, however, he found the bodies of two
" men which had been buried under a heap of stones so im
" perfectly that the wild beasts had afterwards dragged them
" out and almost entirely devoured them. The boy gave notice
" to the villagers, who went to the pass and buried the
" remains of the bodies. On hearing this account, I went to
" the Gola pass in company with the Bunya who pointed out
" the spot where the bodies had been found. A large stone
" which lay near th[illegible] had some marks of blood upon it,
" and [illegible]ving it I found a shoe, which I at once recog-
nized as having belonged to my [illegible], and I wept

of different European gentlemen who happened to call in, and as they seemed to feel a good deal of interest in listening to them, I thought others might possibly feel the same in reading them if committed to paper; and from that time I, for several days, put down the conversations as they took place in the present form. They form the first number of the Appendix, and will be found immediately after the Vocabulary.

W. H. SLEEMAN,

Genl. Supt. for the Suppression of Thug Associations.

Head-Quarters,
Jubulpore, *8th Sept.* 1835.

" bitterly. I took the shoe to Indore where it was identified " by the family, and as we had no doubt that our relations had " been murdered, we performed their funeral rites according " to the customs of our sect."

The Ungarka sent by Captain Sleeman was shewn to the witness, but he said it had been made up while he was at Rutlam, and that he had not seen it before.

(Signed) P. JOHNSTONE,

Assist. to the Resident.

The lad who had on the vest was the son of Kaleean Sing, Jemadar of Thugs, and now approver. He got it in a present from his uncle Dureean, and rather than alter so pretty a garment he ran the risk of wearing it till he was taken.

W. H. S.

THE RAMASEEANA.

Aulae—A Thug, in contradistinction to Beetoo, any person not a Thug. When Thugs wish to ascertain whether the persons they meet are Thugs or not, they accost them with "*Aulae Khan Salam,*" if Musulmans; and "*Aulae Bhae Ram Ram,*" if Hindoo. This to any one but a Thug would seem the common salutation of "peace to thee, friend," but it would be instantly recognized by a Thug. Any man that should reply in the same manner would be quite safe.

Adhoreea—Any person who has separated himself from a party whom the Thugs have murdered or intend to murder, and thereby escaped them.

Ae ho to Ghyree Chulo—"If you are come, pray descend." The phrase most commonly used as the *J,hirnee* or signal for putting people to death, when every thing has been prepared for the purpose.

Agasee—A Turban. A Thug never moves out without his turban, except in Bengal perhaps. If a turban is set on fire, it threatens great evil, and the gang must, if near home, return, and wait seven days; if at a distance, an offering of goor is made, and the individual to whom the turban belonged, alone returns home. If the turban falls off it is an omen almost as bad, and requires the same sacrifices.

Agasee—Is also the term given for the cry of the kite. Heard in the day time, it is of little importance, and inter-

preted according to their rules for the *Thibaoo* and the *Pilhaoo*; but heard during the *Kootub*, or interval between the first watch and daybreak, it is called the *Kootub Agasee*, a dreadful omen. If in Camp, they get up and fly immediately, leaving untouched any person they may have inveigled, however wealthy. If they hear it after dark, but before the end of the first watch, they are not alarmed, as they consider the threatened evil to pass away in their sleep; literally the "omen gets suffocated under their sides as they turn in their sleep." It is the same with almost all bad omens that take place between evening and the end of the first watch.

Ardal—Among the Duckun Thugs, is the same as *Adhoreea* among those of Hindoostan.

Agureea—Descendants of the Thugs, who, after their expulsion from Delhie, resided for a time in the district of Agra, and thence spread over India; in contradistinction to those who went to different parts of India without resting at Agra. The *Buhleems* and *Tundels*, two of the seven original clans of Musulman Thugs, did not rest at Agra; and they are excluded. Their tradition is, that one of the Emperors of the house of Gouree expelled them all from Delhie, after the murder of a *Cheyla*, or slave of his, who had been long in league with them, but was murdered in consequence of a threat to betray them, made with a view to extort more money than they thought reasonable. The Emperor had them all marked on the *posteriors* with the stamp of the copper coin of the Empire.

Ansootore—Literally, "tear drops." Any shower of rain that falls before or after the four usual months of June, July, August and September. If it falls during the first day and night after entering on an expedition the gang must return, and open it anew. It is always a bad

omen, and requires some sacrifices. See also Ruktbondee, or blood dropping. The Duckun Thugs call this shower *Now*.

Agasee Birar—Term among the Duckun Thugs for thunder. If it thunders while opening an expedition, and heavy rain falls, it is of no importance. If little or no rain falls the omen is bad, and they must suspend operations : after the expedition has been opened it is of no importance.

Ankura—One thousand of any thing.

Awk,hur—Any person maimed or deprived of the use of his limbs. In this sense it is peculiar to Duckun Thugs. Among Hindoostanees it signifies any bad omen. If they meet with such a maimed person on the road, the first day after they enter on an expedition, the gang must return, and open it anew. They never kill such maimed persons. There have been instances of it, but they are all supposed to have been followed by great calamities. See the case of Nawul Sing Jemadar, murdered at Biseynee—Appendix.

Anhur—Any metallic utensil for eating, drinking, or cooking.

Anjuna or *Anjruhna*—To sleep or pass the night.

Aentha—Silver money.

Angjhap—A term used by the Thugs of the Duckun for *Rehna*, or a temporary burial of bodies.

Ardjhul—Any bad omen ; the same as *Khurtul*. Both terms are confined to Duckun Thugs.

Balmeek—The author of one of the three *Ramaens* (or histories of the rape of *Seeta*, the wife of *Ram*, one of the incarnations of *Vishnoo*) which after its author is called the *Balmeek Ramaen*. The Thugs consider *Balmeek* to have been of their profession ; but, though they quote his name with reverence, they do not, I believe,

invoke it in their offerings and sacrifices. A sketch of his life is given in each of the three *Ramaens*. His name was *Dojadh,un*, and he is said to have been a Brahmin by birth; to have been born at Kunoje in the latter end of the Sutjoog, or golden age; to have lost his parents when he was five years of age, and soon after to have joined some gangs of Bheel robbers, who, armed with bows and arrows, infested the roads about Chutterkote; to have married one of their daughters, and to have become the most noted robber and murderer of his day. From this course of life he is said to have been reclaimed by a miracle. Seven celebrated saints, at their holy place of abode, learned by inspiration that a Brahmin was thus disgracefully employed, and proceeded to the place to admonish him. He saw them approach, and as usual bent his bow, and demanded their money or their lives. "Why do you, a Brahmin by birth, follow this horrible "trade, and rob and murder innocent travellers?" "I have "a wife and children whom I love, on the top of yonder "hill; they want food, and I must provide it for them." "Go and ask those you love, and for whom you provide "food by the murder of innocent men, whether they are "willing to share with you in the crimes as well as in the "fruits." "And in the mean time you will make off. Many "a traveller has tried to escape me by similar tricks, but "I am not to be deceived." "We swear to remain till you "return." He went to his wife and children and asked the questions. They told him that they shared in what he brought to them, but he must be alone answerable for the means by which he acquired it. He returned to the saints, with a contrite heart, and implored their instructions. They told him to tarry where he stood till they should return, and continue to repeat the words, "*Mura, Mura, Mura,*" dead, dead, dead, which was

familiar to him; knowing that he would in time convert it into *Ram, Ram, Ram, God,* God, God; and thinking that his soul was not yet fitted to repeat the holy name. He soon made the expected change, and continued to repeat *Ram, Ram, Ram,* for twelve thousand years, when the seven saints returned. Nothing but the bones remained, but they were erect, and repeating the holy name of *Ram.* White ants had built their hill over them, but on hearing their voice the skeleton assumed a form of Godlike beauty, and burst forth, as it is said, like the sun from behind a dark cloud. He became a man after God's own heart, and wrote his Ramaen by inspiration. *Balmee* signifies *ant hill,* and the *k* affixed signifies *born of,* and his name was changed from *Dojadhun* to *Balmeek.*

Bajeed—Safe, free from danger. When the Thugs have got their victims at the place where they intend to murder them, if the spies placed around, see all clear, they call out one of the following names, [illegible] work of murder goes on. *Bajeed* or *Bajeed [illegible], Deo* or *Deomun,* or *Deoseyn.* If the spies [illegible] stranger approach and apprehend danger, they [illegible] *Sheikh Jee,* or *Sheikh Mahummud,* or *Luchmun,* or *[illegible]chmun Sing,* or *Luchee Ram,* or *Gunga Ram,* and the Thugs suspend operations. When one part of the gang advances with the travellers they intend to kill, and on the road meets other travellers, whom the party in the rear may conveniently murder, they tell them to bid their friends *Bajeed* or *Bajeed Khan,* and *Deo,* or *Deoma[illegible] Deo Sing,* to make haste and overtake them. As soon as the gang behind hear this message they may fall upon and murder them, understanding by the signal th[illegible]vance the road is clear.

Baee [illegible]—A frequented road.

Ba[illegible]—To become public; viz. the bodies of victi[illegible]er traces of their proceedings.

Byd,ha—A man who has lost a limb or any member of his body. If they meet such a person during the first day of their expedition it is a bad omen, and requires sacrifices. Also any thing unbecoming the cast or condition of the person, and likely to lead to suspicion and danger. They seldom murder any person who has lost a limb, and attribute much of our success against them on the Nerbudda river, to the murder of Newal Sing, who had lost an arm, and his family at Biseynee, in 1820. See Biseynee case Saugor Sessions of 1831-32.

Bagh—*Bagdena*—Same as *Phooldena*, parole of rendezvous or meeting.

Bagureea—A class of Thugs who reside chiefly about Sooper, in the Gwalior territories. They are called also *K,hokhureeas*, and have followed the trade several generations, since their intermarriage with the emigrant Thugs from Delhie through Agra, or *Agureeas*.

Boguma—An old garment.

Bugjana—To become aware of the designs of the Thugs upon one.

Bugna—The same.

Bājunee—A gun.

Boj,ha—The Thug who take the bodies of the murdered person to the grave.

Bojhae—The office of the Bojha.

Bukote—A strangler same as *Bhurtote*.

Buk,h—The word made use of by the Thugs when calling to each other to assemble after having been separated by accident or design. *Buk,h, Buk,h, Buk,h*, or come, come, come.

Bahleem—One of the seven original Thug clans. There are scarcely any of this clan to be found north of the Nerbudda.

Beyl—The place chosen for burying the victims.

Beegha—Term among the Thugs of Behar and Bengal for a share of the spoil. From every booty they first set aside ten per cent. for the leaders, and five for the stranglers, however few or many; the remainder is divided into *Beeghas*, or shares. Their proportions are 1.2 for jemadar or leader—1.14 for a man who has attained the rank of strangler—1 for a person who has not attained that rank.

Beelha—A great enemy of Thugs: also a leper, or man deprived of his nose or ear; or any person much emaciated by sickness.

Beetula—A dog. Term peculiar to the *Jumaldehee*, *Lodaha* and *Moteea* Thugs of Behar and Bengal.

Bykureea—The spy or scout. Term used by the *Bongoos*, or river Thugs, the *Jumaldehees*, *Lodahas*, and *Moteeas* for *Tilha*.

Bykuree kurna—To act as a spy or scout—or *Bykuree "dek,hna*," to look out.

Beyl,ha.—The person who chooses the place for murdering.

Beylhae.—The office of choosing the place.

Beel Grain.—Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Bhalee or Bhaloo.—The call of the jackal. There are three kind of calls from which the Thugs draw omens. The *Bhalee*, which they also call *Burhohee*, is the call of one jackal. The second is the general clamour of jackals, which people call their *lamentation*. This the Thugs call *Raureen*. The third, the *Ekareea*, or short call of a jackal, in which he seems to be cut short after an effort or two. Any one of these calls heard during the day threatens great evil, and the gang quits the country in which they hear it, leaving untouched any persons they have inveigled, however wealthy. The *Ekareea* is bad either by night or by day. The other two calls,

when heard by night on opening the expedition, are interpreted according to the ordinary rules for the *Thibaoo* and *Pilhaoo*.

Bileea.—A brass cup ; technically a place for murdering or burying the victims.

Bileea-Manjuna.—Literally, to clean the brass cup. To choose the place for murder.

Bilgaree.—An extensive jungle or waste, very convenient for the purpose of murder.

Bhimjodha—The bird Chirrah Q. V. peculiar to some classes of Thugs.

Banee—Blood.

Baean Geedee Sona Leedee—A proverb of the Thugs. " A jackal crossing from right to left brings gold." If a jackal crosses the path of the Thug from the right to the left it promises good fortune. If from left to right bad.

Bungoo—The river Thug of Bengal. These men live chiefly in the district of Bhurdwan, on the banks of the Hoogly river. They move up and down the Ganges during the months of November, December, January, and February, always pretending to be going to or coming from holy places, such as Bunares, Allahabad, &c. &c. They inveigle people on board their boats, strangle them, and throw them into the river, having broken their spines to prevent the chance of their recovering. The leader of the gang has commonly his own boat, but he sometimes hires it for the season, and the owner of the boat gets the share of one man. The boats have a hole on each side through which they throw the bodies into the river; but they never stab or cut them, lest there should be signs of blood in the water to attract the attention of people in the boats by which they float on their way down the river. This class of Thugs is very numerous—from two to three hundred.

Bhans lena—To steal or defraud each other in the division of booty; peculiar to Duckun Thugs; same as *Kootkurna* among Hindoostan Thugs.

Bhontee—Calling of the kite while flying. It is a bad omen. If they see the dung of a kite falling in the air, it is considered to promise a valuable white booty, in silver or cloth.

Binderee—A sword.

Bindoo—A Hindoo.

Bunasna or Bunas Jana—To lose any thing, but particularly the road.

Bunij—Literally merchandize or goods; technically a traveller or any other person whom the Thugs consider worth murdering. He is their stock in trade.

Bunij Ladhna—Literally, to load the goods; technically, to murder the travellers.

Bunjaree—A cat. If a cat comes to them at their lodgings at night it promises good fortune.

Bungur—A Thug term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Buneana—To stain with blood a cloth or any other thing.

Bunar—Same as *Baee*. Bad news, untoward discovery of the Thugs proceedings: also a road become unsafe for Thugs.

Bhurtote—A strangler.

Bhurtotee—The office or duty of strangler. Thugs seldom attain this rank or office till they have been on many expeditions, and acquired the requisite courage or insensibility by slow degrees. At first they are almost always shocked and frightened; but after a time they say they lose all sympathy with the victims. A Thug leader, of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day in my presence by a native gentleman, whether he never felt compunction in murdering innocent people,

replied with a smile, "Does any man feel compunction in "following his trade; and are not all our trades assigned "us by providence." The native gentleman said, "How "many people have you in the course of your life killed "with your own hands at a rough guess?" "I have kill-"ed none! "Have you not been just describing to me a number of murders?" "Yes; but do you suppose I could "have committed them. Is any man killed from man's "killing? *Admee ke marne se koe murta.* Is it not "the hand of God that kills him? and are we not mere "instruments in the hand of God?" They are first employed as scouts; then as sextons; then as *shumseeas* or holders of hands; and lastly as *Bhurtotes.* When a man feels that he has sufficient courage and insensibility for the purpose, he solicits the oldest and most renowned Thug of the gang to make him his *cheyla,* or disciple. The Thug agrees to become his *gooroo,* or spiritual preceptor and when the gang falls in with a man of respectability but not much strength, fitted for the purpose, he tells the gooroo that he is prepared, with his permission, to try his hands upon him. While the traveller is asleep with the gang at their quarters, the gooroo takes his disciple into a neighbouring field followed by three or four old members of the gang. On reaching the spot chosen, they all face to the direction the gang intends to move, and the gooroo says, "*Oh Kalee, Kunkalee, Bhudkalee. Oh Kalee, Ma-"hakalee, Calcutta Walee.** If it seemeth to thee fit that

* The Thugs, and I understand all other Hindoos, believe Kalee to have first appeared upon the earth in Calcutta. They believe also that after she had, through the means of the Thugs created by her for the special purpose, destroyed the great Demon "*Rukut beej dana*" at Bindachul, on the eastern extremity of the Vindeya range, she carried the body to Calcutta and there buried it where her temple now stands. That place they consider to be her favorite seat where she *works more miracles* than

" the traveller now at our lodging should die by the hands
" of this thy slave, vouchsafe us the *Thibaoo.*" If the
get the auspice on the right within a certain time (half an

in all the rest of India. They have got a notion that in Calcutta even the Christians attend her worship, and make offerings to her temple ; and I believe the priests have always actually made offerings to her image on great occasions in the name of the Hon'ble Company out of the rents of the land with which Government has endowed the temple. European Gentlemen and Ladies frequently attend the nautches and feasts of the great days in the *Durga Pooja* ; and as these feasts are part of the religious ceremonies, this innocent curiosity is very liable to be miscon strued by people at a distance from the scene, and should not therefore be indulged. The Hindoos have a verse which they often repeat in their invocations. " *Kalee ! Calcutta walee ! tera buchun na jawe Khalee.* O " *Kalee, great goddess of Calcutta, may thy promise never be made in* " *vain.*" She is said to delight in the name of *Kunkalee*, or man-eater and to be always drinking the blood of men and of Demons. The term means, I believe, the same thing as *Kunkalin.* They all believe Kalee to have been extremely black, and to have had features so terrifically hideous that no mortal man could dare to look upon them.

When Kalee or Parbuttee appears in company with her husband, Siva or Mahadeo, she is represented as beautiful and fair, and is common called *Gouree*, or *the fair.* It was only when she came to destroy de mons, or as the Goddess of war, that she is supposed to have put on these hideous shapes. In a beautiful piece of sculpture at Beragur on the Nerbudda river, she is represented as seated on a Bull behind her husband, whose dress and ornaments are as usual, composed of snakes very gracefully twisted and suspended around him. This piece of sculpture is called *Gouree Shunkur*, after her name *Gouree*, and that of Ma hadeo, *Shunkur*; and it is so much superior to any other they are accus tomed to see, that the people, from the most learned to the most unlet tered, implicitly believe that the God and Goddess came here, mounted as they now are, on a visit to the Nurbudda, from the mountain *Khyla* and got their earthly parts turned into stone as a memorial of their visit and will some day resume them.

The whole is cut out of one block of lava from a dyke in the marble rocks through which the Nurbudda flows beneath the temple which is consecrated to them. The wall of the court in which the temple stands is lined all round by the statues of some three score *Jognies*, or petty goddesses, who attend upon Parbuttee, about the size of life, cut out o

lour), it signifies her sanction; but if they have no sign, or the *dhilhaoo*, (or sign on the left) some other Thug must put the traveller to death, and the candidate for honor wait for another time.

Davey's sanction having been conveyed in the *Thibaoo*, they return to their quarters, and the *gooroo* takes a handkerchief, and, facing to the west, ties the knot in one end of it with a rupee or other piece of silver inserted. This knot they call the *Goor Ghat*, or *classic knot*, and no man who has not been thus ordained by the high priest, is permitted to tie it. *See Goor Ghat.* The disciple receives it respectfully from the high priest in his right hand, and stands over the victim, with a *shumseea*, or holder of hands, by his side. The travellers is roused on some pretence or other, and the disciple passes the handkerchief over his neck, at the signal given by the leader of the gang, and strangles him with the aid of his *shumseea*. Having finished his work, he bows down before his gooroo, and touches his feet with both hands, and does the same to all his relations and friends present, in gratitude for the honor he has attained. He opens the knot after he has heard or seen the *Thibaoo*, auspice on the right, takes out the rupee and gives it, with all the other silver he has, to his gooroo, as a nuzur; and the gooroo adding what money he has at the time, purchases a rupee and a quarter's worth of goor for the *Tuponee*, and lays out the rest in sweetmeats. The *Tuponee* sacrifice is now performed under the neem, the mango, or

rks of different kinds, with various faces and in various attitudes, and a mounted upon different *Bahuns*, or vehicles of birds and quadrupeds. They are all sadly mutilated, and the God and Goddess within are said to have been saved by a miracle from *Aurungebe* and his army, to whom these things are always attributed. At this temple an annual fair is held in the beginning of November.

the byr, if they are available, and if not, under any other tree except the babul, the sirsa (*mamosa series*) and the reonja. The new disciple now takes his seat among the *Bhurtotes* around the carpet, and receives his share of the consecrated sugar, and the sweetmeats are distributed to all the members of the gang of whatever grade. On his return home after the expedition he gives a feast to his gooroo and his family; and if he has the means, to all his relations; and he presents his gooroo with an entire new suit of clothes for himself, and one for his wife, and others for his relations, if he can afford it. The gooroo after a certain interval, returns the compliment to him and his family, and the relation between them is ever after respected as the most sacred that can be formed. A Thug will often rather betray his father than the gooroo by whom he has been knighted.

The *Bhurtote* is not permitted to bathe on the day he has strangled any one: formerly no member of the gang was permitted to bathe on the day that a murder was committed, but now the stranglers alone are forbidden to do so.

Buhup, Buhupna, Buhapjana—To go, or escape; as a traveller from the snares of the Thugs, or Thugs from pursuit.

Bara Muttee—The call of the lizard. At whatever time and place they hear the call of the lizard, they consider it a very good omen. The fall of a lizard, upon a Thug is considered a very bad omen; and if it falls upon any garment, that garment must be given away in charity. If it falls upon the ground it threatens nothing.

Baroonee—An old and venerable Thug woman, who is much respected by the fraternity.

I have heard of only one woman who has gone herself on Thug expeditions, and that is the wife of Bukhtawur Jemadar, of the Sooseea class of Thugs. She and her

husband are still at large in the Jypore territory. She has often assisted her husband in strangling; and on one occasion strangled a man who had overpowered and stunned her husband. Mothers, I know, have often made their sons go on Thuggee when they would not otherwise have gone, and wives on some occasions their husbands; and I have heard of one woman in the Duckun who kept herself a small gang of Thugs; but Bukhtawur's wife is the only woman that has, as far as I can learn, gone on Thuggee herself.

Baroo—A Thug of respectability either from the celebrity of his Thug ancestors, or from his own character as a Thug.

Barana, Barawnee kurna—To disperse on the approach of danger or separate into small parties to avoid suspicion.

Birar—The fighting of cats or their screams when fighting. Also the Duckun Thugs term for *Manj*.

Agaseebirar—Thunder: a term also peculiar to Duckun Thugs. *Agasee* signifies turban among both Duckun and Hindoostanee Thugs.

Bhurahur—A pitcher full of water. *Bhurehur* one empty.

If on leaving their homes on an expedition they meet a woman with a pitcher full of water on her head, it promises a safe return and prosperous journey; if empty, the reverse. The pitcher full promises still more if the female be with child.

Bhurka—Rupees. Peculiar to the Duckunees.

Bhurehur—An empty pitcher, and a bad omen when met on the road.

Bharakee—A gun.

Bhara—Dead bodies of the victims. Term peculiar to the Duckun Thugs. Hindoostanee Thugs call them *Ghurt,ha.*

Bora—A Thug; in contradistinction to *Beetoo*, any person not a Thug. This term is peculiar to the *Jumaldehee, Lodaha, Moteea* and *Bungoo* Thugs in Behar and Bengal.

Borkee—A knife.

Borkeeana, or *Borkee Marna*, or *Borkeeae dalna*—To stab with a knife.

Boreeahut or *Bore*—Loud talking, bellowing, uproar.

Borkee—The small deer. If a single small deer crosses their road from right to left, it threatens evil. If from left to right, it promises good; but its promises and threats are not considered important. A herd of small deer at all times and under all circumstances promise a meeting with other Thugs, and is considered good. The Duckun Thugs consider the crossing of the single deer either from left to right, or right to left a bad omen.

Borcha—New clothes: term peculiar to Duckun Thugs. Also a bundle or load of new cloths. Hindoostanee Thugs call it *seep*.

Burauk—The omen of the wolf or wolves crossing their road. If from left to right it threatens great evil. If from right to left it is a good omen. If its call be heard during the day, the gang must immediately quit the country in which they hear it. If between midnight and day light, it is bad; if between evening and midnight, indifferent; between midday and sunset, it is not so bad as between sunrise and midday. They call it the weeping (*Chimmama*) of the wolf, and consider the sound mournful. The single wolf portends more than a pair; and the *Burauk* is, whether for good or for bad, one of their most important omens.

Bursote.—One of the seven original clans of Thugs who were all Musulmans.

Burg—Any thing seen upon a man unbecoming his condition, and therefore likely to lead to suspicion.

Burgeela—An accomplice: one who knows the secrets of the Thugs and keeps them.

Burka—A leader or chief of Thugs, or one thoroughly instructed in the art; distinguished from *Kuboola*, a *Tyroo*. Also any man of rank.

The Thugs consider a *Burka* as capable of forming a gang of Thugs out of the rude materials around him in any part of India; and a Thug who has arrived at this degree of proficiency in the art ought not therefore to be left at large. A *Kuboola*, or *Tyroo*, they think, could do nothing if left to himself, and he might therefore be left at large without much danger to society, if he had no leader to join.

Buroee—An omen from the jackal's call—*See Bhalee*.

Buhra—Four travellers, or victims in the hands of Thugs.

Bees—A low call of the small owl repeated three or four times: called also *Chireya*. It always threatens evil.

Bhusmee—Fine earth or sand, particularly applicable to what is found in digging the graves for the victims: same as *Rewaroo*. Flour is also called by them *Bhusmee*.

Bhys—One of the seven original clans of Thugs.

Bisul purna—To be awkwardly handled in strangling: to have the *roomal* round the face or head instead of the neck. *Soosul purna*—to have it round the neck.

Bisnee—A Thug, pick-pocket, thief, or any one that lives by the plunder of others.

Bisendhee—Fetters. Also a *Thulee* or metal utensil of any kind.

Bisul—A person, intended to be killed, who has clothes round his neck and head, or other impediment to strangling. Also a man on whom the *roomal* falls

untowardly, either on his head or face, or is otherwise untowardly handled in strangling. Also a Thug who has blood upon his clothes, or other signs of murder that may lead to suspicion. In all these and other senses *Sosul* is opposed to *Bisul.* Any Thug in whose hands victims have been often *Bisul,* is excluded from the office of strangler, on the ground of presumed unfitness for the duty.

Bous—A large gang of Thugs above twenty-five; same as *Kharoo.*

Beeta or Bheeta—A hundred.

Beetoo—Any person not a Thug, in contradistinction to *Aulae* a Thug.

Bhitree—A pair of travellers or victims.

Botoel—A body of travellers too large for the Thugs to manage: see *Tonkul.*

Bote hona—To become inveigled; fall into the snares of the Thugs; in contradistinction to *Chuk Jana* or *Iterjana.*

Char—A *Bhurtote* or strangler. Term peculiar to the *Bungoos, Jumaldehees, Lodahas* and *Moteeas.*

Chareeae—*Bhurtotee,* the office or duty of strangler.

Cheeha—A coward, timid Thug, one who shews sympathy or fear.

Chibilna—To be released from confinement; distinguished from *Jhur jana,* to escape or brake prison.

Chandanee-kee-dhap—A dog seen dunging by moonlight; a very bad omen, which makes the gang suspend all operations for three days if possible, and make sacrifices.

Choukana—To examine or reconnoitre secretly.

Choukna or *Chouklena*—To see, inspect, examine.

Chookadena—Same as *Thibaedena.* To cause to sit down and look up; as travellers before strangling them. They direct their attention to the sky or some other object above them.

Chuk—Suspicion.

Chukbele—A place chosen for the murder too near to danger.

Chuk ho jana.—To become aware of the designs of Thugs and on one's guard; as travellers whom they are trying to inveigle.

Chukura—A small gold coin. This term is confined to Duckun Thugs.

Chulub—The interval between the time when the sun sets and about gunfire at night. Evening: *Chulub men Ladhna,* To kill in the evening.

Chuttoo-Dhuneea—Same as *Oorut Kawuree.*

Chamoo Jana—To be seized or arrested.

Chamlena—To seize or arrest.

Chimmama—The call of the wolf; considered a bad omen at all times, but particularly during the day. The gang must immediately halt, or go back, and quit that part of the country as soon as possible.

Chimmota—A boy.

Chimmotee—A girl.

Chummun—A Brahmin.

Chumoseea—A holder of hands. Term used by Duckun Thugs for *shumseea.*

Chummoseeae—The office or duty of *Chumoseea.*

Chumeeae.—The office or work of the *Chumeea,* viz. seizing the victim.

Chumeea—The person who seizes, or assists the *Chumosee* in seizing and keeping down the victim. There may be ten *Chumeeas,* but there can be only one *Chumosee.*

Chanda—Cloth.

Chandoo—An experienced and expert Thug.

Chingoreea—One of the sects or *Bharnts* of the Thug clans.

Chinha—A boy.

Chinguree—A clan of Moltanee Thugs; sometimes called Naicks, of the Musulman faith. They proceed on their expeditions in the characters of Brinjaras, with cows and bullocks laden with merchandize, which they expose for sale at their encampments, and thereby inveigle their victims. They use the rope of their bullocks instead of the *roomal* in strangling. They are an ancient tribe of Thugs, and take their wives and children on their expeditions. They destroy, it is said, their female children; and if they at any time preserve them, they never allow them to marry out of their tribe.

There are, it is said, more than a hundred families of these Moltanees in the neighbourhood of Hingolee. They do not associate with the other Thugs, but they use nearly the same technical language, and practise the same trade of murder. They have however a different ostensible employment in the hire of their bullocks, sale of wood and grain, &c. &c.

Chingana—A boy. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Choundh,na—To bind up in bundles booty or the dead bodies of victims.

Choundh Lena—To tie on the turban. *Agasee Choundh lena.*

Choundhee-Churana—To tie the arms behind.

Chowan—A woman. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Choundhee—Turband.

Cheeng—A sword. Term confined to Berar Thugs.

Chungar—A thief of any kind.

Cheek—A Gold Mohur.

Cheyhur—Jungle or forest.

Chirreya—A chirping of the small owlet, which Thugs consider a bad omen, whether made while the bird is sitting or flying; it is said to be a melancholy and low sound,

seldom repeated. See *Puttoree*. Judae, Jemadar, who was considered to be one of the best augurers of his day, lived at *Murnae,* a celebrated Thug village, and it is said that, returning one morning from a walk in the fields, he told his friend that he had heard the *Chirriya* in a manner that indicated some great calamity at hand. That night or the night after Mr. Halhed is said to have attacked the village and Lieutenant Monsel was killed. It was I believe in November, 1812.

Chireeapotee—One of the sects of Thugs, said to be from the *Bhys* clan

Chira—The call of the *Roopareel,* or *Muhoka (Caculus Custaneous),* or the bird itself. Some Thugs call it also the *Bhinjhoda.*

Chirchera—The call of the Lizard. See *Bara Mattee.*

Chireyta—A Pundit, or any Marhata.

Chourukna—To inform or give information against any one.

Churagee—A Byragee—term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Churtee-Pholkee—The time between sunrise and midday: see *Pholkee.*

Cheesa—Any good or blessing from Heaven, but particularly a rich traveller.

Cheeota—Rupees.

Cheyt—Same as *Cheek.* A traveller who has discovered the designs of the Thugs. *Cheyt ho Jana—Cheek-ho-jana*—To become aware of their designs and on one's guard.

Chutaw—A share of the booty.

Chutae—The same.

Chutae Lena—To divide.

Deo—Used for the same purpose as *Bajeed khan.*

Deo Sing—The same.

Daee—The road—term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Duheea—The call or cry of the hare. They will perish in the jungles, they say, after hearing it, if they do not make sacrifices, and the hare or some other animal of the forest will drink water out of their skulls : if they kill any one whom they have with them at the time, they will find no booty on him, or what they find will tend to their ruin —See *Roopuneea.*

Duhee Phorkana—To gargle and squirt from the mouth sour milk. The means by which the evil threatened by the *Kalee kee Manj*, is averted in the morning.

Dada Dheera—A very ancient and canonized Thug of the Bhursote class whom they invoke in drinking spirits at certain religious ceremonies. They do not mention him with *Jora Naek* in the *Ghoor* offering, or *Tuponee*; but they make votive offerings of ardent spirits to *Dada Dheera*. They promise an offering of spirits, and if they succeed in their prayers, they drink the spirits, if their caste permits; if not, they throw it on the ground with the expression of their thanks in prescribed phrases. *Dada Dheera's* tomb is visited as a holy shrine by Thugs at Kumona in Koel, where he was buried.

Dudh—A man who is not a Thug.—See *Beetoo.*

Dhagal—Papers.

Dhaga kurana or dena—To satisfy a suspecting chief or public functionary of the innocence of Thugs suspected.

Dhaga le ana—To search out and report what they require to learn from travellers.

Dhaga—An eliciting of the intentions of travellers ; or negociation with native chiefs, or any men in authority for protection, or for release when arrested.

Dhagsa—Hilly or jungly country. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Dogga—A hookha of any kind; also an old man.

Dhokur—A dog; also a man who seizes Thugs.

Dhonkee—A police man or guard. Same as *Ronkee.*

Dhilha—A pice.

Dhoulanee—One of the sects of Thugs.

Dholin—An old woman—term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Dhulal—Spirit vender—term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Dul—Weight.

Duldar—Weighty.

Duller—The head.

Dullar Khan—Same as *Surbulund Khan.*

Deomun—Used for the same purpose as *Bajeed Khan.*

Dhamonee-kee-manj—The fighting of cats, during the day, which is a very bad omen. The threatened evil must be averted by a sacrifice.

Dhamree—Metal utensils, peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Dheema—The belly.

Dheema—Goats or sheep, sense peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Danthee—The noise of jackals fighting; a very bad omen, which involves the necessity of leaving the part of the country in which the gang hears it.

Dhaundhoee—Any man employed in the pursuit of Thugs.

Dunda—Term used by Duckun Thugs for *Kanta,* or braying of an ass.

Dhons-Jana—To fly or escape.

Dhonsna—The same.

Dhonsana—To come to seize or arrest Thugs. Peculiar to the Duckun Thugs in this sense.

Dhunteroo—The ass. The Thugs think the omen of the ass the most important of all whether it threatens

evil or promises good. "*Sou puk, heroo ek Dunteroo.*" The ass is equal to a hundred birds, is a maxim in augury. The omen of the ass is also superior to that of all quadrupeds! If they hear it bray on the left on opening an expedition (*Pilhaoo*), and it is soon after repeated on the right (*Thibaoo*), they believe that nothing on earth can prevent their success during that expedition though it should last for years.

Dhuneea—Breaking wind; peditum. See *Oorut Kawree.*

Dhungee—Lotah or brass pot.

Dhooansa—Dry tobacco.

Doona—Stocks for confining Thugs or other prisoners.

Doonr—The loud screams of a victim for help—*See Senth.*

Doonrkurna, or *Doonree Lakarna*—To scream loudly for help.

Doonreeana—The same.

Dapnee—A dagger. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Dhap—A dog seen in the act of dunging.

Dhara—Vessels of metal.

Dheree—A Surae or Village.

Dhurae—The share of the booty assigned to the leaders before the general division. It is generally the tenth article if there are ten or more of the same kind; or one ana in the rupee upon the value, if there are not. After this deduction and the payment of a small extra allowance to the stranglers, grave choosers and diggers, and other officers, they all divide the booty in equal shares, as described under the head of *Kowree.*

The Motheea Thugs about Patna and Chapra give their leaders, as *Dhurae*, a handful of rupees out of the booty, and divide with them the rest in equal shares; and from this they are said to derive their name. Their Jemadars are bound in honor to sacrifice themselves for

the good of their followers, whenever required to do so, and have the character of being more staunch than those of other classes of Thugs.

Dheerna—The belly. Term peculiar to the Duckun Thugs.

Dhurdalna—To strangle.

Dharohur—Strangling.

Dhurohurkurna—To strangle.

Dhurdho—A river.

Dautun—A police guard; any person found unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of the *Bele*, or place chosen for the murder, whether residing there, or there merely by accident.

Dutooa—The call of the hare; if on the right, it is a very bad omen; all travellers with them must be let off.

Ekareea—A single or short call of a jackal in which he seems to have met with a sudden check. This is condered a very bad omen by Thugs all over India.

25th May 1835, I had ordered a party of Sepahees, with some approvers, to proceed this morning towards Gwalior in search of some Thugs who have lately found an asylum there. About 9 o'clock last night one of the Native Officers came to tell me that they could not move till afternoon to day as they had heard a bad omen. I have just been to the jail and discovered that this bad omen was the *Ekareea*, heard about 8 o'clock last night. Nunhooa, one of the approvers, declared that on leaving Saugor about three months ago for Indore he heard the *Ekareea*; and not attending to it, he got the wound, which he received from a sword in arresting a noted Thug Bhyroo, the son of Himmut, between Indore and Baroda. These men never go out to arrest their associates or to take up the bodies of wounded travellers without taking the auspices, though they rarely tell us of it.

Ekburda—A Teylee or oil vender. They never either kill or employ oil venders, and if they meet one on leaving home the first day they must return. No man of this cast has yet been admitted as a member of their fraternity, as far as I can learn. The Thugs attribute their arrest in the Mbow cantonment, and all their consequent suffering after the Dhar affair, to their having murdered a Teylee, though they knew not his cast at the time.

Ektawhona—To assemble together ; rendezvous.

Eloo—Any single person not a Thug.

Endh—A woman.

Eentab—Term used by the Duckun Thugs for *Eetuk*, The term signifies contamination from the following circumstances ; 1st, the birth of a child in a Thug family ; 2d, the first courses of a Thug's daughter ; 3d, a marriage in a Thug's family ; 4th, a death in a Thug's family of any person that has quitted the mother's breast ; 5th, a mare foaling ; 6th, circumcision ; 7th, a buffaloe or cow giving calf or dying ; 8th, a goat or ewe giving young ; 9th, a cat or dog giving young or dying ; 10th, menses after the first time. All these involve the necessity of sacrifice—See Appendix D.

Eetuk—Contamination from a wife or daughter being under her courses. No man can enter on an expedition while they are in that state, or for a certain number of days after ; and if the leader's wife or daughter should be in that state none of his party can go ; also contamination from any of the above circumstances.—See *Eentab*.

Entha—Rupees or money of any kind.—See *Anchta*.

Etabarkhanee—A sect of Thugs derived from the *Bursote* clan.

Gobba—The round grave. This is made circular, and a small pillar of hard ground left in the centre. This they think prevents the dogs, jackals and other animals

of the jungle from digging up the bodies, and at the same time the ground from cracking and emitting that effluvia that often leads to their discovery in the *Kurwa*, or oblong grave. The Thugs about Delhi, and the Motheeas of Patna, Chupra and Guya, and many other classes of Thugs, use the *Gobba*. The bodies are closely packed round the pillar of round earth.

Godaekurna—God,dalna—to perform the *Godae*.

Geeda—Contaminated; viz. a Thug by the occurrence of the *Eentab*. Also a man of the lowest cast—Duckun term.

Ghoughee Phenkna, Marna or Dalna—To cast lots with cowries for the booty.

Gugura—A class of Thugs so called.

Gajna—To eat.

Gook,hee—The person who is carrying the bones of his relations to the holy river; a term peculiar to the Duckun Thugs. The Hindoostan Thugs have no peculiar term for such a person, though they can never murder him.

Gael—Treasure.

Ghenae—Fetters. Term peculiar to the *Jumaldehee* and *Lodaha* Thugs,

Ghoeela—Pice—term peculiar to the *Jumaldeha* Thugs of Oude.

Gollee—Coral. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Gahum—Food.

Geem—Same as *Karh*, search after Thugs. It also means theft according to the *Koeleeas*.

Goma—Omen of the *Bhojunga* (Shrike) seen flying from right to left, or from left to right. Both promise good. Its call is not regarded by Thugs.

Gano—A clan of Thugs so called.

Ganoo—The man who feigns the sickness. See Gan karná. These terms are peculiar to the *Jumaldehee, Lodaha*, and *Moteea* Thugs.

Gheyns—Noise and confusion, uproar.

Gōna—The hand: also five according to the Duckun Thugs.

Gonee—A shoe.

Goneeait—A man who has lost his hand, or nose. To murder such a man they consider very unlucky, and therefore rarely venture to do it.

Gungā ram—A word of caution signifying that danger is near.

Gan kurna—To feign sickness in order to bring the travellers into a situation and condition favorable for strangling them. The *Ganoo* falls down and pretends to be taken suddenly and violently ill; some of his friends raise and support him; others bring water; some feel his pulse, and at last one pretends that a charm will restore him.—All are requested to sit down, the pot of water being in the centre; all are desired to take off their belts, if they have any, and uncover their necks, and lastly to look up and count a certain number of stars if they are to be seen, and in this state the *roomal* is thrown over their necks and they are strangled.

Gunooa—Any fraud or trick of Thugs.

Gorha—Bread.

Gorhonee—Bread.

Gorhna—To strangle.

Goor Ghaunt—The knot of the gooroo or priest who teaches the use of the *roomal* in strangling. The Thug who has learnt from this man scientifically, as a mark of his college education, leaves the end of the *roomal* concealed within the knot, or *Ghaunt*. The *Bhurtote* or strangler who has not been so instructed, leaves the end out, as more secure for his less skilful hand The man who has had his collegiate education is called the *Ghoor ponch*.

Gurkha—The neck. *Gurkha men dena*—To strangle.

Gurtha—The dead body of a victim.

Gar—A share of spoil.

Garbung—A share of spoil.

Gharna—To strangle—term peculiar to the *Sooseea* and some other few classes of Thugs.

Gharnakhna—The same.

Goraree—The call of the Sarus.—See *Jubhur*.

Gorgureea—A low gurgling sound made by the large owl, which they say resembles the bubbling of a huka, or goorgooree, whence its name; and that it always threatens evil. If the Thugs hear it on first setting out, they must suspend their journey for some days. If they hear it after the expedition has been opened, on the left, they must advance far and fast, as danger pursues in the rear. If on the right, they must halt as danger lies in front.—See *Korra*. Duckun Thugs pronounce it *Golguleea*.

Gota—Stones, particularly stones from graves.

Gote hona—Term used by Duckun Thugs for *Bote hona*, to fall into their snares, become inveigled.

Gote purajana—To come to the aid of the strangler—Duckun Thugs.

Gote—A large city. Term peculiar in this sense to Duckun Thugs.

Guthonie—A knot in a turban, or any other piece of cloth in which money or jewels may be concealed.

Hukka bhur lao—"Fill your pipe," technically one of the signals or *Jhirnees* for the stranglers to do their work: peculiar to the Koelea Thugs.

Hilla—The rank or grade held by three men in every expedition—1st. The man who chooses the place for murdering people and burying the bodies. 2d. The man who carries the *Kusee*, or consecrated pick-axe. 3d. The man who brings the goor or coarse sugar, for the

Taponee, sacrifice. All these officers are supposed to require peculiar skill and peculiar piety. The man who brings the goor, must be a man of great ability to persuade the people of villages that so large a quantity of goor, as he is required to purchase, is for innocent and ordinary purposes. Three of the most skilful Thugs are selected for these offices on opening every expedition, and they get an allowance out of the booty acquired, over and above their common and equal share with the rest. If the gang has not prospered, two of the three are changed; the man who carries the pick-axe and the man who brings the goor. They name other two with certain ceremonies, and walk to a certain tree or other mark chosen at a distance on the road. If they hear or see the auspice on the left, the deity is understood to confirm the choice. This is the *Pilhaoo.* If not. They must name other two men, and so on, till they find the deity approve.

Hingra—A shopkeeper. Term confined to the Duckun Thugs.

Handeewuls—One of the sects of Thugs. They are Musulmans, and reside in Telingana. The Duckun Thugs divide themselves into five districts; those of Berar, Telingana, Duckun or Sholapore, Arcot, Kurnatuk. The term *Handeewul* they consider as applicable to those of Telingana only; and to them only as a nickname. is a term of reproach given by the Agureea Thugs to the Telinganas, who are extremely indignant when they hear it. Sahib Khan, a Thug leader from Telingana, and a very respectable and pious man in the opinion of his fraternity, told me when I was revising this vocabulary, that if I intended to send it to *government*, he hoped I would not designate the Thugs of his district by this odious term: It would imply that they had been in the habit of eating food dressed in old and

dirty earthen pots, whereas there were really no men in the world more scrupulous than they were in this and all matters relating to their cast. See Appendix.

Hurwa—A Brahmun—term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Huttar—One of the seven clans of Thugs.

Jhawur—Among Berar Thugs signifies a Mahommudan; among those of Berar and Bengal it signifies a *Kawur*, or the pair of jars in which the *Kawrutties* carry Ganges water.

Jokkur—A dog. If the Thug sees a dog shake his head, they give up the design they have formed whatever it may be. If they see the dog dung on the right or left on the first day of opening the expedition, it is a bad omen, and they return and postpone their journey three days. If after having opened the expedition and advanced a day's journey, the dog is seen to dung on the *left*, they move on fast, as there is danger behind; if on the *right*, they must rest or move slowly as there is danger in advance. If they see the dog dung by moon-light, they call it the *Chandnee kee dhah*, or moon-light *dhah*, and consider it a very bad omen. They must suspend operations for three days. If when preparing to set out from any stage, they see a dog dung, they call it the *Mekh kee dhah*, or *dhah* of the tent pins; and the pins are not to be taken up; that is, they are not to move that day. If they see the dog dung in the evening, they call it the *Gawdhoor kee dhah*, and consider it good and promising a good booty within seven days.

Jheealoo—Same as *Jywalas*.

Jhuller—The belly.

Julkagura—The call of the large hill crow, while sitting on a tree, with a lake (tank,) or river in sight. This is a very favourable omen, and promises an immediate and great booty. If it calls from the back of a

living buffaloe; pig, or from the skeleton of any kind of animal, it is a bad omen. If from rocks on plain grounds indifferent. Some classes of Thugs consider its call from the back of the cow good, others consider it bad.

Julhar—The call of the *Sarus*. It is considered a very important omen. It must be heard first on the left, on opening an expedition, and if repeated on the right, it is very good. If on setting out from any stage they hear it on the right, it is bad, unless preceded by the call on the left. If on reaching any stage, they hear it on the right, it is good, and if repeated on the left, they expect a great booty in jewels or money. If the *Julhar* is heard on the left after they reach any stage, it is a bad omen, threatens disputes and arrests. The same rules are applicable to almost all omens.

Jywaloo—A person left for dead but found afterwards to have life in him.

Jheema—The belly—term peculiar to *Moltanee* Thugs.

Jhummanta—One not a Thug to whom the Thugs are known, and is to be avoided by them.

Jumaldehee—A class of Thugs that are settled in Oude and some other parts East of the Ganges They are considered very clever, and expert, and more staunch to their oath of secrecy than most other classes. They are *Agureeas*, or emigrants from Delhi through Agra, and supposed to be descendants from a man named Jumalud Deen. They do not commonly allow their females to know th. · trade, nor permit their sons to join in their expedition till they have attained the age of puberty. They assign a full share of the booty to every member of the gang who has been left at home to take care of their families.

Jumaldehee—It is stated that in the time of Munsoor Alee Khan the *Jumaldehees*, to the amount of some hun-

dred families, came from Delhi, and established themselves in the purguna of Bhyswara, in the village of Tillohee, under the protection of the Rajah, one of the ancestors of the present Rajah Shunker Sing, to whom they used to give a portion of their booty in the most valuable and rare articles, as horses, jewels, &c. &c. The protection he gave them was reported to Court, and he was obliged to expel all the Thug families who dispersed in different directions. Some established themselves in other parts of Oude. Some went to Goruckpore, Durbhunga, Tirhoot. Those who went to the last two districts were from that time called *Lodahas,* while the others all retained the title of *Jumaldehees.* They are all of the same clan, and use the same *Ramasee* or slang dialect.

In the time of Asufod doola, some five or six families of the Goruckpore Thugs returned to Oude, and established themselves at Nadhee in Jugdespore, under the protection of Baboo Balwunt Khan, the grand father of the present chief Allah buksh Khan. From five or six families they increased to forty or fifty, under his protection and support, when they became so notorious that his sovereign obliged him to expell them; and they dispersed themselves and settled in Kotedeh and Bhurtolee and Bhowulmowe in the Deorhee of Hindoo Sing, and Rudolee, Dureeabad, and the town of Dureeabad itself, in Dutekaporwa, Tindolee in Huleeapore, Balahurdoee, Nusseerabad and Tholehreg. The greater part of the *operators* of this class in Oude have now been secured.

Indermun—A woman.

Iter Jana—Term used by Duckun Thugs for *Chukjana*—to become aware or suspicious of the designs of the Thugs. In contradistinction to *Gote hona* or *Chuk hona.*

Jangura—A Rajpoot. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Jungjore Raja—Term among the Duckun Thugs for the responding of two large owls in their loud full call, called by them the *Raja* or *Mahee;* and by Hindoostan Thugs, the *Thakur;* this is a bad omen, and all travellers whom the gang may then have with them must be suffered to escape. Any ventriloquist, who could imitate this and some other calls mentioned in this vocabulary, might travel from Lahore to Cape Comorin, without danger from Thugs.

Jheer Dalna—To strangle. A term peculiar to the *Sooseeas* and some other classes of Thugs to the west.

Jeerna—The same *Jheernakhna.*

Jhauwur—Term among Berar Thugs for a Musulman.

Jhirnee—The signal for strangling; this is commonly given either by the leader of the gang, or the *Belha,* who has chosen the place for the murder.

Jhirnee dena—To give the signal for strangling.

Jhowar Khan—Call of spies and scouts to, say that danger is near, and the gang must conceal themselves.

Jhowar dena—To conceal things from stranglers.

Jhowar lena—To conceal or hide ones self, or any thing one has.

Jhora Naek—A celebrated leader of the Multan Thugs and of the clan of *Hurtal;* his name is mentioned with reverence in their sacrifices—See *Tupuna.* He was a Musulman and he and his servant Koduk Bunwaree, are said to have killed a man who had in jewels and other articles, property to the value of one hundred and sixty thousand rupees laden upon a mule. They brought home the booty, assembled all the members of their fraternity within reach, and honestly divided the whole as if all had been present. Jora Naek, his wife and his slave, were all canonized in consequence.

Jhurawun ho, or ho Jao—Run, Fly.

Jhurjana—To run, or fly from pursuit.

Jhurwa—The word made use of by spies and scouts to tell the gang that danger is at hand and they must fly.

Jhurwa Khan, Jhurwa Sing—The same.

Jhurowa—The fugitive Thug or Thug flying from danger.

Jhoosa—Small or feeble man (either Thug or other person,) or small village.

Jeetna, Jeetjana, Jeetae purjana—To take the auspices. When the Thugs are prepared to undertake an expedition, they seat the most learned pundit they can get upon a blanket, with their leader and four of the Thugs, the most respectable in their vocation from birth and character. The rest of the gang sit around outside the blanket. They place before the pundit as an offering a brass plate (*Thalee*) with some rice, wheat and two copper coins upon it. The leader asks the pundit, respectfully, what day will be proper to open the expedition, and he after due search and ceremony, pronounces the day, the hour, and the direction. They on the day appointed fill a *Lotah* (brass jug) with water, which the leader holds suspended by the mouth in his right hand down by his side. In a clean white handkerchief they tye up five knots of turmerick, two copper coins, one silver coin and the pick-axe, and this the leader holds upon his breast in his left hand. He now turns to the direction indicated by the priest, and moves on slowly followed by his gang to a field or garden outside the village. On reaching the spot thought best adapted for the purpose, he stands with his face still in the direction indicated, his left hand on his breast, and his right down by his side with the lotah; and with his eyes lifted to heaven, and his mind abstracted from all earthly things, he says, "Great Goddess! universal mother!

if this our meditated expedition is fitting in thy sight, vouchsafe us help, and the signs of thy approbation !" All the Thugs present repeat this prayer after the leader, and join in the praises and worship of the goddess. If within half an hour they hear or see the *Pilhaoo* (or auspice on the left), it signifies that the deity has taken them by the left hand to lead them on. If the *Thibaoo* (or omen on the right) follows, it signifies that the deity has vouchsafed to take them by the right hand also. The leader then puts the lotah on the ground, and sits down with his face in the same direction. He keeps the silver and copper pice and turmerick during the whole expedition, and gives them as an offering to some poor Brahmun on his return ; but if the expedition has been very prosperous he keeps them to use again in opening others.

The leader remains seated in that spot seven hours, while his followers bring him food, and make all necessary preparations for their journey. When all is ready, they advance a few paces in the precise direction indicated, but afterwards they may turn to the right or left as impediments or incentives present themselves. On arriving at the first stage, they must hear or see the *Thibaoo* first, and the omen is improved by the *Pilhaoo* afterwards. Having had the auspices favorable thus far, they proceed next morning to the nearest water, and there eat the goor and the dal which the leader takes with him. Any bad omen after this can be averted by the usual sacrifices, offerings and observance, but any bad omen before it involves the necessity of returning and opening the expedition anew. If the lotah should drop from the Jemadar's hand, he must, they think, die within that or the following year inevitably. If they hear any one weeping for the dead on leaving the village, it threatens great evil. If they meet the corps

ACC. 6717
EGMORE, MADRAS-600 008

of any one belonging to the village, it is a very bad omen. Or if they meet an oil vender, a carpenter, or potter, a dancing master, a blind or lame man, a fukeer with a brown waist band, or a jogee with long traced hair,—all threaten evil.

If after eating the goor and dal, they get the *Thibaoo*, it assures them a rich booty within a month and a half. It is good also to see a fair in any village but their own on the road. A corpse from any village but their own is a good omen: so also is it good to see a party of friends weeping round a woman taking leave of her parental roof to go to that of her husband.

They must not open an expedition in *Sawan*, (July,) *Koar*, (September,) nor in *Poos*, (December,) nor on a Wednesday nor a Thursday.

Kubita—Term for *Bhurtote* or strangler among the *Jumaldehees* and *Lodahas*.

Kubitae—The office or duty of the *Kubita*.

Khobba—Beef, mutton, or any other flesh meat. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Khub,ha—A village or hamlet, same as *Khugha*.

Kuboola—A menial servant of Thugs; or a low raw man on Thuggee. A *Tyro*, as distinguished from *Burka*, a Thug of distinction.

Kuchunee—One of the seven clans of Thugs.

Khuchooa—A pick-pocket.

Kucha—Unburied, or imperfectly buried; referring to a dead body. Also a Thug who discloses what he knows regarding his associates.

Khodda—An old man.

Khodeylee or *Khoreylee*—An eight ana piece.

Khydura—Barkundauzes, chuprasies, nujeebs, or any armed police men, distinguished from *Rungooas*, or sipahees or soldiers.

Koduck-bunwaree—The celebrated follower of *Joora Naek*.—See *Tuponee*. He was a *Lodhee* by cast.

Kode—Dressed rice. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Kud,hooa—The head. A term peculiar to the *Koeleea* and some other classes of Thugs.

Khugha—Same as *Khubha*, village or hamlet.

Kugura—The croaking of a large mountain crow. Contrary to the ordinary rules of augury, the *Pilhaoo*, in this omen, is the croaking on the right; and the *Thibaoo* the croaking on the left. If he croaks from a tree either on the right or the left, it promises good; and if water be in sight, it is better. See *Jul-kugura*, or the water croak. If heard from a tree while the gang are in camp, it promises a rich traveller on that spot, and the gang waits for him. If he croaks while on the back of a pig, or buffalo, or from any dead body, or skeleton, the omen is bad. If from the back of a cow, some Thugs think it a good, others a bad omen.

Koojaoo—A Thug informer; one who denounces Thugs or extorts money from them.

Kuj—A traveller, or any man not a Thug; same as *Beetoo*.

Kujjee—A woman of any kind not of a Thug family.

Kojeytee—Fetters. Term confined to the Duckun Thugs,

Khokhee kurna—To hawk up the phlegm from the throat. See *Thokkee*. A signal to prepare for action, strangling, or marching, or doing any thing they have in hand.

Khokureea—A *Bangureea* Thug, applied to them by other Thugs as a term of reproach, as *Harndeewal* is to the *Telingana* Thugs.

Kokatee—Duckun Thug's term for the *Korra*, or low clinking sound of the large owl, which always threatens evil to be averted by sacrifices.

Kalundersee—Sweetmeats.

Kalee—Night.

Kaul—A village. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Kaulkee—Liquor.

Kalee kee manj—The fighting of cats heard at night after the first watch, which is an evil omen.

Khal Khoseea—A barber.

Khullee—A Thug who conceals himself on his return home from the dread of his creditors.

Khuleeta—A village. Term peculiar to *Koolsea* Thugs.

Kulloo—A thief.

Kulooee—Theft.

Kamp—A bribe for the release or ransom of Thugs.

Khat—Is the term used by the Duckun Thugs for *Kamp*, a bribe.

Khom—A door.

Khomusna—To rush in upon travellers when there is no time for the ordinary ceremonies of murder.

Konil—Something unbecoming one's condition and cast, and likely therefore to lead to suspicion.

Kanta—The omen of the braying of the ass. It is an omen of great importance, and must be heard first on the left on opening an expedition, or on setting out from any other stage. If on reaching any stage, or while haulting at any stage, it is heard on the left, they must leave the place and go off; for such situations it is good on the right. If the ass approaches the gang, braying from the front, it is a very bad omen, and is called *Mathaphore*—the head breaker.

Kanthun—A knife.

Kanthuna or *Kanth dalna*—To cut up the body of a murdered person in order to prevent its swelling and forming cracks in the soil that covers it. Also to kill with a knife, a person whom they have not time to strangle, on

the approach of danger, or stab a strangled person in order to prevent the possibility of his recovery.

Kanee Ind—The name of the wife of *Joora Naek*—See *Tuponee.*

Khonsana—To return or *Khounsana.*

Khonchkhana—Same as *Tupjana.* Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Kondoo—The belly. Term peculiar to the *Koeleea* Thugs.

Khanjoo—A cut purse. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Kondul kurna or *Dalna*—To pound in the earth upon the bodies when they are securely buried. Term confined to Duckun Thugs.

Konjul—The call of the *Saurus.* Term peculiar to the *Jumaldehee, Lodaha,* and *Moteea* Thugs of Behar and Bengal. Same as *Julhar.*

Kotuk—A novice or tyro in Thuggee. Term peculiar to the *Jumaldehee, Lodaha,* and *Moteea* Thugs of Bengal and Behar.

Kuneelee—Earings. gold.

Kapsee—Corn or grain, or any agricultural produce in the ground, before harvest.

Karthee kurna—Inveigling travellers, or secretly consulting about their murder.

Karthee must kurna—To speak or consult in a low voice or whisper.

Karh—Search or enquiry after Thugs.

Karhkurna—To search after, or molest Thugs.

Karhoo—One who searches after, betrays, or molests them.

Khurtae—Any bad omen. Duckun Thugs.

Kawree—Breaking wind. See *Oorut kawree.*

Kartheana—Same as *Karthee kurna.*

Kharoo—A gang of Thugs.

Kharoo phootna—To break up or disperse the gang.

Kharkuneea—The passing of a hare across the road in front of the gang; a bad omen either from right to left, or left to right.

Khorae—Pice, copper coinage.

Khour—An army. Peculiar to the Dooab, Oude and Behar Thugs.

Khorchee—A barber.

Khora—Unlucky.

Khoruk—A horse, so called by Duckun Thugs.

Khorkanee—A mare, ditto ditto.

Kurba—Secure or perfect burial, as distinguished from *Angjhap*, imperfect burial.

Kurbakurree—Term used by Duckun Thugs for *Lugha*, Sexton, when the bodies are securely buried.

Kurbakurna—To dig graves when the bodies are to be securely buried,—all three terms chiefly confined to Duckun Thugs.

Khurkha—Same as *Kanta*, an ass.

Khureyree—(See *Putouree)* Term peculiar to the *Jemaldehees*, Dooab and Behar Thugs, for the small owl.

Khureynja—A nalah or ravine. Term peculiar to the *Jemaldehee* Thugs.

Khuruk—Noise made by the pick-axe in digging the grave.

Korra—A low clicking sound made by the large owl. It always threatens evil like the *Gorgureea*. The Duckun Thugs call this *Kokatee.*

Kourga—Silver. Term confined to Duckun Thugs.

Korhureeas—The Thugs who resided in the district of Korhur, between Etaw[illegible]npore, after their expulsion from Delhie.

Kouree Phenkna, Morna [illegible]—To cast lots for the booty. After defraying [illegible] expenses to leaders and officers, they commonly divide the booty into three equal

shares and the gang into three equal parties. A cowree is then given to each party, who, after marking it, puts it into the hand of a man, who, without knowing to which party the cowrees respectively belong, puts one on each of the three piles, and each party takes the pile on which its cowree has been placed, and subdivides it among the individuals.

Kurwa—The grave, made square or oblong, for the bodies of the persons murdered—See *Gobba*.

Kursaul—The large male antelope. If a single antelope or a pair only are seen crossing the road from left to the right, it is a good omen; viz. the *Thibaoo*. If from right to the left, very bad; viz. the *Pilhaoo*.

Khurtul—Term used by Duckun Thugs, for *Kotar*, any bad omen.

Khosman—Term for a Musulman.

Khosur—The month among the Behar Thugs called *Khomur Khosir*.

Khous—Return, in contradistinction to *Pusur*, advance.

Kiswara—A well.

Kussee—The consecrated pick-axe. At first Thugs were allowed by *Davy*, according to their creed, to leave on the ground the bodies of the persons murdered, but were prohibited from looking back to see how she disposed of them. A slave on one occasion looked back, and saw her occupied in throwing them into the air, without any clothes on her body. She was naturally very angry and bid them in future to bury the bodies themselves; but to use in making the graves pick-axes duly consecrated. On ascertaining from the priest or elder of the gang a lucky day for the purpose, the leader of the gang goes to the blacksmiths, and having closed the door that no other person may enter, gets him to make the axe in his presence, without touching any other work till it is completed.

On a day fixed, either Friday, Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, they give it the *dhoop* or incense offering. The place chosen must be either inside a house or tent, so that the shadow of no living thing may fall on and contaminate the axe. The Thug most skilled in the ceremonies, sits down with his face to the west, and receives the pick-axe on a brass dish. A pit is dug in the ground, and the pick-axe is washed with water which falls into this pit. It is afterwards washed with a mixture of sugar and water. Then with *dehee* or sour milk, and lastly with ardent spirits; all falling successively from the pick-axe into the pit. It is then marked from the head to the point with seven spots of red lead, and placed on the brass dish, containing an entire cocoanut, some cloves, pawn leaves, gogul gum (amyris a gollacha) inderjon, some seed of the sesamum, white sandal wood, and sugar. In a small brass cup close by, is some ghee. They now kindle a fire from some dried cow dung, and some wood of the mango or byr tree, and throw in upon it the above named articles, except the cocoanut; and when the flame rises, they pass the pick-axe seven times through it, the officiating priest holding it in both hands. He now strips the cocoanut of its outer coat, and placing it on the ground, holds the pick-axe by the point in his right hand, and says "Shall I strike?" All around reply yes. He then says "all hail mighty Davy, great mother of all!" and striking the cocoanut with the but end of the pick-axe, breaks it in pieces, on which all exclaim "All hail Davy and prosper the Thugs!" They throw all the shell and some of the kernel into the fire, tie up the pick-axe in a clean piece of white cloth, and placing it on the ground to the west, all face in that direction and worship it. This done they all partake of the kernel of the cocoanut, and collect all the fragments and put them

into the pit, that they may never after be contaminated by the touch of any one's foot. If after this ceremony the *Thibaoo*, or auspice on the right is seen or heard, the sacrifice has been approved. If the *Pilhaoo*, on the left, it is not; and if the cocoanut is not severed at one blow, the deity is considered to have disapproved, and another day is appointed for the ceremony to be performed over again. Henceforward the pickaxe is called the *Kassee*, or *Mahee*, instead of *Kodalee*. The Jemadar keeps it with great care, and before every expedition the ceremony must be repeated.

It is given to the shrewdest, cleanest and most sober and careful man of the party, who carries it in his waist-belt. While in camp he buries it in a secure place, with its point in the direction they intend to go; and they believe that if another direction is better its point will be found changed. They say that formerly they used to throw it into a well, and that it would come up of itself when summoned with due ceremonies; but since they began to do what was forbidden, and neglected what was enjoined, it has lost that virtue. They say that it has it still among some classes of Thugs in the Duckun who have adhered more rigidly to their rites and usages. No foot must touch the earth under which it lies buried; nor may the pickaxe be touched by any man in an unclean state, or by any unclean animal or thing. The burnt offering is repeated on certain holydays, and whenever they have been long without a victim. After every grave made with it, it must be bathed with certain ceremonies.

The oath by the *Kassee* is, in their esteem, far more sacred than that by the Ganges water or the Koran, and I have known men who have been in prison twenty years, entertain the firmest conviction that perjury on the *Kassee* when the oath has been administored with due cere-

mony, must inevitably cause the death of the person within six days, or involve him in some great calamity. I have talked with hundreds who have told all their secrets, and I never yet met a Thug that did not, up to the last moment of his existence, believe the same. They never under any circumstance lose their confidence in the *Kassee;* and if it fail them, they attribute it to accidental neglect of the prescribed ceremonies. In prison, when administering an oath to each other in cases of dispute among themselves, I have known them frame the image of the *Kassee* out of a piece of cloth, and consecrate it for the purpose. The deponent puts his hand on it while he deposes, or holds it in both hands, and after having sworn he drinks water in which the *Kassee* has been washed, or he goes before the image of *Davey* with the *Kassee* in his hands and swears.

If the *Kassee* at any time falls from the hands of the man who carries it, it is a dreadful omen, and portends that he will either be that year killed, or that the gang will suffer some grievous misfortune. The gang must deprive him of his office, return home, or change the road, and consecrate the *Kassee* anew; and no other party will ever encamp or associate with one whose *Kassee* has so fallen, lest they should be involved in the calamity. Many are the curious stories they relate to illustrate all this.

Kathur—One of the sects of Thugs. They are supposed to derive their name from a man, who attended the feasts of the seven classes at Dehlie with a wooden dish or trencher, called *Kathur*—took to their trade, and left it as an inheritance to his descendants.

Kautgurree—The office of a scout, or spy.

Kautgur—A scout or spy.

Kotar—A bad omen. Duckun Thugs.

Kotuck—A novice or tyro in Thuggee.

Keyta—Ardent spirits.

Khotana—To set out with travellers before daylight in the morning.

Khotub—The interval between midnight and daybreak or sunrise.

Khotub men Ladhna—To murder in that interval.

Khoturna—To encamp or lodge. Term peculiar to some classes of Thugs.

Khutana, or Khutae, or Khutae dena—To inform against the gang in consequence of a quarrel; or to become their enemies.

Khuteeae—The doing so, or *Khuthae.*

Khutowa—A Thug who informs against his associates.

Koot—Theft committed by Thugs among themselves out of the booty. Duckun Thugs call it *Bhons.*

Koot kur lena—To steal from the booty acquired.

Kootha—The Thug who so steals.

Kottar—Any bad omen—same as *Ardhul.*

Kuthowa—The man who cuts up the bodies of the victims before they are buried. This they do to prevent their emitting a smell, and being thereby discovered by jackals, and dug up and exposed. If they leave the bodies entire, the ground that covers them cracks as they decay, and the stench rises to the surface.

Kuthae—The office of doing so.

Kutheeana—Same as *Kat,hna.*

Kutoree—Same as *Bele*—place for the murder. *Kutoree* signifies a bass cup, and when, in the hearing of their victims, they apprehend that the term *Bele* might excite suspicions, they say "*Jao, kutoree manj lao*"—Literally, "go and clean the cup"—technically, go and choose the place for the murder.

Kutoree Manjna—To choose a place for the murder.

Kutkola—A carpenter.

Kote—Duckun term for the feast or sacrifice to *Davey*, peculiar to Thugs, but common to all classes of them. Having collected goats, rice, ghee, spices, and spirits, they assemble on a Tuesday or Friday, in a room chosen for the purpose, the doors and windows of which must be so closed that nothing can be seen from without. The floor must be cleaned, and plastered with cow dung; and in the centre, a square is drawn of a cubit each side with the *kokoo*, or mixture of turmerick and lime. Upon this square is spread a white sheet, and upon this sheet, the rice when boiled is placed. Upon the rice is placed the half of a cocoanut, filled with ghee, in which is inserted two wicks, lying across each other, and lighted each at both ends, so as to give four lights. If a cocoanut cannot be found, a vessel of dough of the same form will answer. This kind of lamp is occasionally made by all kinds of people and is called *Chou mukh*. Upon the white sheet is now placed the consecrated pick-axe and the knife of the gang; and all the spirits brought for the feast. From among all the goats purchased for the occasion two are now selected, black, and perfect in all their parts. They are bathed, and washed, and made to face to the west, and if they shake themselves lustily to throw off the moisture from their bodies, they are immediately sacrificed as having been accepted by *Davey*, or if one does so, both are sacrificed. If neither of them does this, it is a sign that she has rejected both; and the party eats the rice and drinks the spirits, but postpones the sacrifice to another day, considering the feast as in the light of a simple meal. This they do if any other bad omen is observed on that day, considering the Goddess to be displeased with something. While the *Feetak* obtains among the gang, this offering cannot take place.

The goats are sacrificed after the Mahomedan form, having their throats cut while grace is said over them, if the party be Mahomedans; but if they are Hindoos, the goats have their heads struck off as at Hindoo sacrifices. If the two goats are accepted and sacrificed, all the other goats purchased for the feast are killed and eaten: if not, they are kept for a better day. A pit is dug in the floor into which is thrown the skins, bones, and offal of all kinds; for nothing brought in for this sacred feast must be seen by any living thing but a Thug eligible to partake of it; and they believe that if any man not a Thug see the lamps, or any part of the preparations, or any fire falls on the white sheet and burns any part of it, or any animal touches the bones or offal, the leader of the gang must die within the year, and all the members be involved in some great calamity.

If they are on an expedition they must take the same precautions, and conceal themselves and their ceremonies by means of curtains, if they have not walls. After feasting, they must all wash their hands and faces over the pit, and then fill it up securely. The expenses of this feast are defrayed commonly by subscription, when it is called the Punchaetee Kote, and is given whenever they choose; but most commonly in the Hooly or Dusera festivals, during which they may, if they choose, have it on any other day as well as Tuesdays and Fridays. Sometimes the feast is given by the leader or any individual member of a gang. No Thug is eligible to partake of this feast in any part of India till he has attained the rank of *strangler*, unless his family have been Thugs for at least two generations. The above is considered the complete ceremony, and in the Duckun every part is strictly attended to. In Hindoostan some minor points, as the form of the lamp and the drawing the square, are

omitted. They have no peculiar term for the feast; the term they use *Kurhae kurna* or *Kurahee dena*, being common to all people for a feast.

Lodh—A bullock among the Thugs of Hindoostan. Among the Duckun Thugs it signifies blood.

Lodaha from *Lodh*, a bullock—A class of Musulman Thugs, either descended from or grafted upon the *Jumaldehee* stock of Oude Thugs. These Thugs reside in Chupra, Goruckpore, Ghazeepore, Pooruneea, Dinajpoor, Rungpore, and other parts of Behar and Bengal, but now the principal seat of them is said to be in the Turae, north east from Dhurbunga, where they occupy several villages on the frontier between the Nepaul territory and our own. The most noted of this class at present are *Jhoulee Khan* the black, and *Jhoulee Khan* the fair, who are, I believe, cousins. They are said to have got their name from loading bullocks, though it does not appear that they trade in that way now. *Lodha* or *Lodhee*, without the vowel after the *ohais*, a cast of Hindoos common all over India, and of this cast the greater part of the gangs of Thugs between the Ganges and Jumna were composed.

The *Lodahas* may be estimated at about three hundred, I believe.

Lubba—A bullock.

Lickha—A Musulman. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Luchmun or Lutchmun Sing—Term made use of by scouts to indicate the approach of danger—See *Bajeed*.

Luchee Ram—The same.

Ladhna—To strangle; common to all classes of Thugs.

Ladhka—Goor or coarse sugar.

Lode—Bullock among the Hindostan Thugs; but among the Duckunees it signifies blood.

Ludohur—Killing. *Ludohur Kurna*, to murder.

Lugha—A grave digger.

Lughae—The office of grave digger.

Lughouta—Dead bodies of victims.

Lokaree—A gun.

Lokharna—To scream loudly when being murdered—See *Doonr*.

Lukeer—Fakeer, a religious mendicant.

Lewalee—A blanket. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Lol—The throat. Term confined to Duckun Thugs.

Lamkun—Term used by the Duckun Thugs for the *Kurkuneea*, or crossing (from the right or from the left) of a hare on the road before them.

Lumbheree—A sword.

Lumpocha—Term among the Berar Thugs for a snake. If a snake crosses the road before or behind the gang, it is a bad omen, and they dare not go on unless they can kill it. If they see it in any situation, it involves a sacrifice unless they kill it.

Lumbhereeana—To kill with a sword.

Lendkeea—A washerman, peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Lond,hlena—To plunder.

Londh,hhona—To be plundered.

Lupna—To kill goats or other animals for food. Term peculiar to the Duckun Thugs.

Leepra or *Leep.*—Cloth in pieces, not made into garments.

Leepurna.—To strangle. Peculiar to the Western Thugs of Ojeyn.

Lopna or *Lop Ruhna*—To lie hid or asleep.

Lopee, or *Lopee Khan*, or *Lopee Singh*—A term made use of by scouts to intimate that danger approaches.

Lopee Kurna—To conceal.

Lopee Hona—To be concealed.

Luppooa—Thief.

Lohurburheya—A pair of jackals crossing the road in front of the gang from the right or from the left, indicating prison and chains; from Lohar, a blacksmith, and Burhey, a carpenter, a very bad omen; a single jackal passing from right to left, is a good omen; from left to right, bad, but of little moment.

Lurheea—A shop-keeper.

Lutkuneea—A very small purse, worn only by Thugs and thieves, and therefore a distinctive mark.

Luhtar—A dagger.

Moeh.—A bullock, among the Duckun Thugs.

Muchhooa—A *Bhutteeara*, or keeper of a surae for the accommodation of travellers. The greater part of these people are in the interest of the Thugs, often permitting them to perpetrate murders in their suraes, and giving them useful information regarding travellers and pursuers.

Mudoreea—Name given to the *Maunj* or fighting of cats, by the *Koeleeas* and some other Thugs.

Mekhkee Dhap—See *Jokkur* or *Dhap*.

Mukkaur—A Rajpoot of whatever calling.

Mykureea—A barber. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Maulee—The man who bears home money for the subsistence of their families from Thugs engaged in distant expeditions. Peculiar to the *Korhareea* and *Lodhee* Thugs.

Mawil—A horse.

Mawilee—A mare.

Maulee—Parole of rendezvous among the Duckun Thugs; the same as Phool among the Hindoostanees.

Maulee dena—To give the parole of rendezvous.

Mohil—A chief. Peculiar to the Duckun Thugs.

Mahee—The sacred pick-axe, called also *Kassee*. The Durkun Thugs always use the term *Mahee*, never *Kussee*, for the pickaxe. The Durkun Thugs give this term to the *Thakur*, or full call of the large owl also. See *Thakur*.

Mooltaneas—A class of Thugs, all Mosulmans, who are said to have emigrated direct from Delhi, and not through Agra, and therefore not among the *Agureeas*. They are said to call themselves Naiks, and to travel and trade as Brinjaras. They kill the greater part of their female children, and never allow what survive to marry out of their own class. They travel with their families, and strangle travellers with the cords with which they are accustomed to drive their bullocks, and not like other Thugs, with the handkerchief. They are among the ancient Thugs, and are considered strict in their observances, and staunch to their oath of secrecy.

Mamoo—One who knows Thugs, and takes advantage of his knowledge to betray, or to extort money from them.

Maun—The place for the grave. A term peculiar to Duckun Thugs—(See *Belee*) *Maunkurree*, the man who selects the place for murder.

Maunj—The omen of the cats heard fighting. If heard during the first watch of the night it promises good; if during the night at any time after the first watch, it is called "*Kalee kee Maunj*," and threatens evil. If heard in the day time, it is called the "*Dhamonee kee Maunj*," and threatens very great evil. If the cats fall down from a height while fighting, it threatens still worse.

Maunghee—Treasure. A term peculiar to some classes of Thugs. *Gael* is the more common term.

Minukeea—A Gosàen.

Minuk—A Gosaen or Byragee—Hindoo religious mendicant.

Munkhela—A man.

Munjwar—A jackal. To prevent their digging up the dead bodies, Thugs throw over the grave either very thorny bushes or *ispaghole*, the seeds of the flea wort, to which they say jackals and dogs have a strong antipathy. They say that with the *ispaghole* there is no danger from any animal, but the bear and hyena.

Maurheea—A gold mohur.

Morna—To go slowly; peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Mirgmaul—A herd of deer. This at all times and under all circumstances is favorable, as promising a meeting with more Thugs.

Morka—The extra share given to distinguished or principal Thug leaders, who command each a party of not less than twenty Thugs. If, including the jemadar, the party consists of twenty, they divide the booty into twenty-one shares, the leader takes one as his *morka*, and he has another share with the rest. If there are five such leaders and parties, they have five separate shares. This is after the deduction of the *dhurae* or leader's share, in which jemadars, great and small, share alike.

Margee—A cheyla or disciple: term peculiar to Duckun Thugs—A mere tyro before he becomes initiated. Hindostan Thugs call them *kyboolas* or *beetoos*.

Mururee—A party of Thugs assembled in council.

Mururee ka Dhuneea—A *peditum*, heard from one of the Thugs, while they are assembled in council. It is considered a dreadful omen, and involves the necessity of great sacrifices.

Must Katee Kurna, or *Katee must Kurna*—To speak softly in whispers.

Matungee—A lizard. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Motheea—A class of Thugs that reside chiefly about Rangpore, Dinapore, Purnea, and derive their name, it is said, from their usage of giving their leaders a handful (*Motheea*) out of every booty consisting of rupees or other money, as their share over and above what they receive in the general division.

They have the same dialect as the other Thugs, and assume like them the disguises best suited to times and circumstances; but, like the Thugs of Behar and Bengal generally, they have their *Beles* or places of murder, and *Thapas* or resting place, chiefly on the banks of large rivers or running streams, into which they can throw the bodies of their victims. They are almost all of the meaner cast or *Tantooas.*

Mat,haphore—(Literally head breaker.) The approach of the ass braying from the front upon the gang. It indicates that the gang will have their *heads broken,* if they rest at the place they had intended to halt at: they must go to some other.

Mahasutee—Call of the single jackal which people call the *Faoo.* Term among Duckun Thugs for what the Hindostan Thugs call the *Bhalee* or *Barohee.* Bhaloo is said to be a term used for this call among all people in the Duckun, Thugs or not Thugs. It is always a bad omen among Duckun Thugs. Among Hindustan Thugs it is subject to the ordinary rules.

Now—The weeping of a woman. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Nudh—A Village.

Naga kur dena—To exclude from association with Thugs. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs; and among them peculiar to exclusion for the murder of a Sweeper, Chumar, Teylee, Dhobee, Sonar, Dancing Girl, Bhart, Nanukpuntee, Jattadaree, Bunjara, Hathee-wan (Ele-

phant driver). For the murder of any one of these classes, knowing him to be such, the Thug is turned out of cast, and never admitted back to their society.

Naga Lugna—The occurrence of this crime, the most dreadful of all crimes in the estimation of a Duekun Thug.

Nughoo—A body of soldiers.

Nakhna—An affix signifying *Kurna,* to do, in general use it is said with the Punjab, Multan and Kanthur Thugs.

Nakee or *Nukaree*—Sneezing. This is a bad omen on setting out on an expedition, or on leaving any stage; and requires expiatory sacrifices. If they have travellers with them when they hear this omen, they must let them all escape, as they dare not put them to death; all Hindoos have the same dread of this omen on setting out on an expedition; and so have the Mahommedans in spite of their creed.

Nemee or *Nemee Khan*—A call to signify speak or walk slowly and softly.

Neeamut—A traveller in the hands of Thugs: same as *Bunj.*

Neera—Water.

Nareal—The head. Term confined to the Duckun Thugs.

Narta—Any soldier or police man. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Nowureea—A tyro or new Thug while on his first expedition. The Thugs of the *Jumaldehee* and *Lodaha* clans always make the *Nawureea* kick the body of the first person they murder on the expedition five times on the back, thinking that it will bring them good luck. The *Moteeas* do the same.

Nureehur—Unsafe or disturbed, in contradiction to *Bajeed* or safe and undisturbed, i. e. the scene appointed for murder.

Nissar—Free from danger; any place where the Thugs intend to murder, divide property or lodge, in contradistinction to *Tikkur*, dangerous—*Kaul Nissar*, a safe village. *Kaul Tikkur*, unsafe village.

Nizam Oddeen Ouleea—A saint of the Sonnee sect of Mahommuduns, said to have been a Thug of great note at some period of his life, and his tomb near Delhie is to this day visited as a place of pilgrimage by Thugs, who make votive offerings to it. He is said to have been of the Bursote class, born in the month of Suffer Hidgeree,—March A. D. 1236, died Rubee Olowul 725, October A. D. 1325. His tomb is visited by Mahommudun pilgrims from all parts as a place of great sanctity from containing the remains of so holy a man; but the Thugs, both Hindoo and Mahommudun, visit it as containing the remains of the most celebrated Thug of his day. He was of the Sonnee sect, and those of the Sheeah sect find no difficulty in believing that he was a Thug; but those of his own sect will never credit it. There are perhaps no sufficient grounds to pronounce him one of the fraternity; but there are perhaps some to suspect that he was so at some period of his life. The Thugs say he gave it up early in life, but kept others employed in it till late, and derived an income from it; and the "*Dustul Ghyb*," or supernatural purse, with which he was supposed to be endowed, gives a colour to this. His lavish expenditure so much beyond his ostensible means, gave rise to the belief that he was supplied from above with money.

Ogalna—To set out. A term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Oogur Jana—To escape, fly from danger. Same as *Jhurjana*.

Oogaul—Old clothes, term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Ogaera—A servant of a Thug or other man of rank. Term confined to the Duckun Thugs.

Oondana—To eat. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Oorut putoree—The chattering of the small owl when flying. See *Putoree.*

Oorutkawree—The "crepitus ventris" heard from a Thug when on the road. They either change the road or avert the omen by a sacrifice. They collect, and burn a pile of cow-dung, and each member of the gang throws one of the burning embers at the offending party who runs the gauntlet among them. If any Thug is heard to break wind while they are at their *phur*, or resting place, dividing the booty, it is called "*Phur ka Dhuneea,*" and considered a very bad omen. They remove the offender from among them, and kindle a fire upon the place where he sat, and quench it with water, saying. "As the signs of the water disappear, so may the threatened evil pass away." Five blows of a shoe inflicted upon the head of the offending person mitigates the evil to be apprehended, but cannot avert it altogether. If any one break wind between the point they set out from, and the first resting place, it is considered an extremely bad omen.

Ooharna—To strangle.

Oorwala—A stone: also a *Shumseea*, or holder of hands. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Paoo—An acquaintance and accomplice of Thugs.

Puchbheya—One of the sects of Thugs; it is derived from the Bursote clan.

Pucka kurna—To bury in a deep and secure grave.

Puck,heyla—Paper in general—written upon or not.

Peeada byth lana—Same as *poolakurna.*

Pykee—Treasure in money.

Pehloo or *Pulloo*—The handkerchief with which they strangle people—the *robmal.*

Phoolkee—The time from sunrise till sunset. From sunrise till midday, *Churtee Phoolkee.* From midday

till sunset is the *Oturtee Phoolkee*; a bad omen during the first is much worse than the same during the *Churtee Phoolkee*.

Palwee—A ring for the finger, nose, or ear. Term confined to the Duckun Thugs.

Phool—Parole or engagement to meet again at a certain place when suddenly dispersed.

Phooldena—To appoint the place of meeting—"*Agra kee Phool deea.* He appointed Agra as the place of rendezvous."

Phoola—The person who takes home money for the subsistence of the families of Thugs.

Pilhaoo—The appearance or voice of the animals from which omens are taken, on the left. The reverse of the *Thibaoo*. If the *Pilhao* promises good according to their rules of *augury*, it is always the better from being followed by the *Thibaoo* soon after. If it threatens evil, that evil is mitigated by the *Thibaoo*.

Different casts and clans of Thugs have in some few instances different rules for interpreting these sounds and appearances, and what is considered to threaten evil by some, is thought to promise good by others; but on such occasions they all follow the rules of the leader who opens the expedition, or leads the greatest number of Thugs associated together in any expedition.

The *Pilhaoo*, or omen on the left, must be observed first on opening an expedition, and it must be followed by the *Thibaoo* immediately after, or the expedition cannot be entered upon. It signifies that the Deity has taken the gang by the left arm, to lead them on; but she must give them the *Thibaoo*, to signify that she has taken them by the right arm also, or the party appointed to take the auspices returns home, and the gang waits till the omens are unexceptionable.

The *Pilhaoo* perceived on leaving any stage during the expedition, or preparing to leave it, promises good. The *Thibaoo* threatens evil, and the gang halts. On reaching any stage, the *Pilhaoo* threatens evil, and they must move on without resting. The *Thibaoo* promises good, and they rest securely.

There are some few exceptions to the general rule that, for the *Pilhaoo,* the omen must be on the left. Some animals must be heard or seen on the right to constitute the *Pilhaoo,* and vice versa, but these are very few indeed.

Pola—The sign made at a cross road to guide the members of the gang who are behind in the direction the others have taken. They draw their feet along the dust in the direction they have taken; and if their friends are to follow quickly, they leave the dust piled up at the end of the line where the foot stops, or make a hole in it with the heel. If the road affords no dust, they leave two stones piled one on the other in the line they have taken, and strew a few leaves of trees along the road. If their friends are to make haste, they leave a long line of leaves. They have other signs for the same purposes.

Polakurna—To make the signs.

Puloee—A ring.

Pulloo or *Pehloo dena*—To instal as a strangler, or invest with the *romal.*

Panderphulee—Pearls. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Phankdena—To throw away any victim or other thing as worthless or unsuitable, as one or more of a party to be murdered, when they have more than they can manage, or he, she, or they are not suited for their purpose.

Phangola—Pearls. Among Duckun Thugs a cook.

Phangolee—Small gold coins. Among Duckun Thugs a hen.

Phankura—The call of the hare by night or day when the Thugs have travellers with them. It is a bad omen and the travellers must not be killed.

Phank—Any useless thing not worth the keeping, but particularly a traveller without property.

Pungoo—A river Thug of Bengal, who carries on his murders on board his boat, which he calls a *Kuntee.*

Puneeara—Pearl.

Parnakhna—To strangle. Term peculiar, it is said, to the Thugs of Ojeyn and the West.

Phoorkana—A horse.

Phoorkanee—A mare.

Phur—Any place where they murder their victims or divide their booty.

Phurka Dhuneea—A "crepitus ventris," heard from any one one while they are sitting down and dividing their booty: a very bad omen. See *Oorut Kawree.*

Phur jharna—To clean the place of murder. After a murder has taken place at night, some members of the gang are left behind to remove any signs that may be seen when day appears.

Phurjhurowa—The man who is left behind for that purpose.

Phuruck dena—To wave any cloth to warn associates of danger.

Purta purna—To be recognized, viz. any article taken from a murdered person.

Phosurna—To fly or escape. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Pusur—The direction or scene appointed for an expedition. *Khous,* the time of return.

Phutakee—A gun.

Phutkee—A shield.

Potura—A horse. *Poturee*—A mare.

Pooturaet—A man on horse back.

Pooturaet-Bhurtote—The man who strangles him.

Pootaraetee—The strangling a man so pulled off his horse.

Potnee (Dhotee)—A waist band. Term peculiar to Koeleea Thugs, or Thugs of and from the district of Koel.

Putlee ho jana—To disperse or divide into small parties when it is dangerous to remain assembled.

Putunee—A sneeze.

Puthoree or *Kosut*—The loud and continued chirping or calling of the small owl. If made by the bird while sitting, it promises good. If while flying, it threatens evil. The chatter or call when sitting is interpreted according to the rules of the *Thibaoo* or *Pilaoo*.

Puteear—The call of the partridge. If heard while the Thugs are travelling, the call on the left promises good, and on the right threatens slight evil. If they are halting at the time, the call on the right is good, that on the left bad.

Putoree—The small owl.

Qulundera—One of the sects of Moltanee Thugs, who travel with bears and monkeys.

Rooh—An affix to the number of persons killed in any affair; a single person killed in an *Eeloo*, when two persons are killed, the affair is a *Bhitree*, three *Singhore*, four *Behra*, five *Puchrooh*, six *Chehrooh*, and so on.

Raba—Any trick of Thugs.

Richee—Behind. Peculiar to a few classes, and obsolete.

Rugon—An omen good or bad.

Rugnoutee—Taking the auspices.

Even the most sensible approvers who have been with me for many years, as well Musulmans as Hindoos, believe that their good or ill success always depended upon the skill with which the omens were discovered and interpreted, and the strictness with which they were observed and obeyed. One of the old Sindouse stock told me yesterday (May 30th, 1835) in presence of twelve others from Hydrabad, Behar, the Dooab, Oude, Rajpootana, and Bundelcund, assembled for the purpose of revising this vocabulary, that had they not attended to these omens they could never had thrived as they did, and that in ordinary cases of murder a man seldom escaped after one of them, while they and their families had for ten generations thrived, though they had murdered hundreds of people. "This," said he, "could never have been the case, had we not attended to omens, and had not omens been intended for us. There were always signs around us to guide us to rich booty and warn us of danger, had we been always wise enough to discern them and religious enough to attend to them." Every Thug present concurred with him from his soul.

Raja—Term among Duckun Thugs for *Mahee* or *Thakur*—the loud full call of the large owl. *Jungjore Raja*—Two large owls responding to each other; at all times and in all situations a bad omen.

Raookar—Sahookar, a banker.

Roukee—A police choukedar or guard—*Roukeea*, a police man.

Rukut Beej Dana*—The Thugs have a tradition that a demon by name *Rukut Beej Dana* infested the world

* *Rukut*, blood, and *Beej*, seed. All Hindoos believe in this demon having been destroyed by the consort of *Mahadeo* in the form of *Kalee*, but those who are not Thugs suppose that when she found every

and devoured mankind as often as they were born or created; and to enable the world to be peopled *Kalee Davey* determined to put him to death. This demon they say was so tall that the deepest ocean never reached above his waist; and he could, consequently walk over the world at his ease. *Kalee Davey* attacked him, and cut him down; but from every drop of his blood another demon arose, and as she cut them down, from every drop of their blood another demon sprung up, and the numbers increased at this geometrical rate, while she became fatigued with the labour. On this she formed two men from the sweat brushed off from one of her arms; and giving them each a handkerchief, told them to put all these demons to death, without allowing one drop of their blood to fall upon the ground.

After their labour was over, they offered to return to the Goddess the handkerchiefs with which they had done their work, but she desired them to keep them as the instruments of a trade by which their posterity were to earn their subsistence and to strangle men with these *roomals*, as they had strangled the demons, and live by the plunder they acquired; and having been the means of enabling the world to get provided with men by the destruction of the demons, their posterity would be entitled to take a few for their own use. The *roomal* they call the "*Goputban*," and the Goddess told them that they should leave the bodies of their victims on the ground and she would take care that they should be removed, provided they would never look behind them to see in what manner, and that if they observed this and all the

drop of blood, as it reached the ground producing another demon to wage war with her, she licked them all off with her enormous tongue as she cut off their heads.

other rules she prescribed for them, no power on earth should punish them for what they did.

These creations from the sweat of *Bhowanee's* arm are not supposed to have themselves used the *roomals*, but to have bequeathed them with all their privileges to their children, who did not avail themselves of them for several generations.

Raul—Duckun term for *Rareyn*, the clamourous call of many jackals. Among the Duckun Thugs this is always a good omen, whether by day or night, right or left.

Rumasee—The peculiar dialect of the Thugs.

Rumujna—To recognize or detect.

Rungwa—A Seepahee, so called from his red coat.

Rungeela—Coral.

Ruhna—A temporary grave.

Rahna kur dena—To bury bodies in a temporary grave.

Rooaran—Any call of the jackal. Term peculiar to *Jumaldehee*, *Lodaha* and *Moteea* Thugs of Oude, Behar, &c.

Roopareyl—The *Sawa Mamoola*, or water wag-tail. Its omen is interpreted according to the ordinary rules of the *Thibaoo* and *Pilhaoo*.

Roopaunèea—The call of the hare at night on the left hand—a good omen.

Rareyn—The general clamour of a pack of jackals. Heard at night it is good on the left, and of little or no importance on the right, except on the day of opening the expedition. Heard then on the right, it threatens evil, and the expedition cannot be opened. Heard at any time in the day, from half an hour after sunrise to half an hour before sunset, it is a very bad omen.

Rewaroo—Fine earth or sand from a grave, same as *Bhusma*.

Ratee bolee Teetura, Din ko bolee seear, Tuj chulee wa deysra, nuheen puree achanuk Dhar—If the partridge call at night, or the jackal during the day, quit that country, or you will be seized.

Seea—Gold.

Shah Mahommud—Same as *Lucheeram.* Term used to signify that danger is near.

Sodh—Money or any property concealed, or search made for it.

Sodhna or Sodhlena—To endeavour to ascertain the extent of a traveller's property.

Sofedee—Silver.

Sheikh Jee—Same as Shah Mahommud.

*Sikka**—The roomal, or handkerchief with which they strangle.

Sewalee—A fox. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Sambhur—Treasure.

Shumseea—The person who holds the hands and feet of the person while the *Bhurtote* strangles him.

Shumseeae—The office of the *Shumseeas.*

Santh—A sword.

Sancha—The grave.

Singore or Sankhole—A party of three travellers.

Sireepotee—A sect of Thugs derived from the *Bhys* clan.

Siskar—A washerman. Term peculiar to *Jumaldehee, Lodaha,* and *Moteea* Thugs.

Soon—A Thug by birth who has not yet attained the rank of a strangler.

Sainee—Term used by Duckun Thugs for *Jhirnee,* the signal for murder.

* Siva and his consort Parbuttee or Kalee are often represented with the *Pasha* in one hand, which is a rope or roomal carried for the purpose of binding and strangling offenders.

Sonoka—The first murder committed after opening the expedition. The person murdered must not be of the female sex, or a Brahman, a *Kaet*, religious mendicant, oilman, potter, carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, elephant-driver, any person having a domestic animal with him, no one having gold conspicuous upon his person, no man carrying the bones of his parents to the holy river, nor musician, nor dancing master.

Soonaree—A kite. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Seyp—Any sleight or trick of a Thug made to deceive travellers, same as *Gunooa*; also the exterior or appearance, when respectable, of a Thug or traveller.

Soopureea—A class of Thugs that reside about *Sooper* in Scindhea's territories. They adopted the trade, after some of the original emigrants from Delhie through Agra had married into their families. They are called also *Bungureeas* and *Kokureeas*.

Sirwa—A shopkeeper. Term peculiar to a few classes of Thugs in Behar and Bengal.

Siharna—To count.

Sirma—The head.

Saur—Any man that escapes from the hands of the Thugs, when they attempt to strangle him.

Surbalund Khan—The name pronounced by the leader to direct the stranglers to be ready at their post to fall upon the victims, when the final signal or *Jhirnee* is given. It is also used to signify that some one approaches, or overhears, and that the Thugs must be on their guard. *Dulur, Dulur Khan* and *Surmust Khan* are used for the same purpose.

Surdhuneea—A *Dhotee* or waist-band.

Sosalladhna—To strangle a *Sosal*.

Sosal Kurna—To wash or bathe; also to bind up the booty when *Bisul* or scattered for the purpose of divid-

ing it; also to prepare a victim for being strangled, by persuading him to uncover his head or neck.

Soosul—A person whose neck and head are uncovered and therefore convenient for being strangled; one who is strangled without any untoward circumstance of screams, blows, struggles, &c. &c.; also a Thug after he has cleansed himself from stains of blood, or any signs of murder. In all these senses, and in every other in which the term is technically used, it is supposed to *Bisul*.

Sooseeas—A class of Thugs of the Dhanuk, or lowest Hindoo caste, who call themselves *Naeks*, and *Thories*, and reside about Jypore, Kishengur, Onheeara, Boondee Joudpore, Khasnode, Shahpore, Rutlam, Jhubooa, Mundisore, Tonk, and other parts of Malwa, and Rajpootana. They have been increasing in numbers for many generations, though they are not considered very ancient; and from their low caste are looked down upon by all the other classes of Thugs, who never eat with them, though often associated with them in their expeditions. They often dress themselves as merchants, and pretend to travel through the country on business in parties, in which their leaders figure as merchants of rank, and the rest as his followers and friends of different grades. The head man is often in a hackery or a palanquin, and the rest appear very assiduous and respectful in their attentions to him. Sometimes they are found as sipahees in search of service; at others as treasure-bearers, or in whatever disguise seems best for the occasion and country in which they operate, most commonly Guzerat and Rajpootana or Kandesh. They strangle and bury like the other Thugs, and with but few exceptions use the same dialect.

Sath-zut—The seven original clans of Thugs who were all Mahomedans, and from them all others are supposed to be derived. They are *Bhyns, Bursoth, Kachunee, Huttar,*

Ganoo, Tundil, Buhleem. The Thugs say that the *Sath-zut*, or seven clans, were all that were at Delhie as Thugs; and that they derived their descent from seven brothers. This however is not probable. Musalman Thugs all over India are very proud to trace their descent from one or other of these great stocks, and he who can do so is generally treated as a man of superior birth.

Satha—The first seven days of an expedition, during which the families of those engaged in one expedition admit no visits from the families of Thugs who are absent on another expedition, lest the travellers destined for the one should go over to the other gang; neither must they eat any thing that has belonged to the families of such other Thugs. The Thugs engaged in the expedition do not till the seventh day dress any food in ghee, nor eat any animal food but fish; nor shave, nor allow their clothes to be washed by a dhoby, nor indulge in any sexual intercourse, nor give in charity, not even part of their food to a dog, cat or jackal. They must not bathe nor eat any sugar, except what the leader brought with him on setting out. Formerly they never eat any salt or turmerick, but now they do. On the seventh day they have a good meal of which greens of some kind or other must be a component part. During the whole time the expedition lasts, if within one year, they take no milk, nor do they clean their teeth with a brush *(miswak.)*

If the *Sonrka*, or first murder, takes place within the seven days, or *Satha*, they consider themselves relieved by it from all these restraints. Formerly they never used to murder as the *Sonrka* (or first victim) any Brahman, or Syad, or any very poor man, nor any man with gold upon him, nor any man who had a quadruped with him, nor a dhobee, nor a sweeper, nor a teylee (oil vender), nor a

bhaut (bard), nor a kaet (a writer), nor a blind man, nor maimed persons, nor a leper, nor a dancing woman, nor a pilgrim or devotee. Some classes and individuals neglect these rules and the misfortunes which have fallen upon Thugs lately are attributed principally to this cause.

Setna—To snore when sleeping, or when being strangled.

Seet,h—The slight chirp of the small owl three or four times only repeated. This is a very bad omen while the bird is sitting, and still worse when flying.

Santa—A bracelet—confined to the Duckun Thugs.

Siharna—To count.

Sitkala—Gold coins. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Situk—Gold. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Sotha—The person employed to inveigle travellers: always the most eloquent and persuasive man they can find.

Sothae—The office of inveigler.

Sootlee—Twenty rupees,

Suthote—Same as *Bhurtote*—a strangler.

Suthna—A Musalman.

Sutheea dalna—To kill with a sword.

Sutheeana—The same.

Syt—Term used by the Berar Thugs, for *phool* or parole of rendezvous. Other Thugs of the south call it *maulee*.

Taw—A gang or party of either travellers or Thugs.

Taw must Chowkaw—Keep out of sight, conceal the gang from view.

Tubae dalna—To kill. *Tobae jana*, to be killed.

Thibana or Thibae dena—To cause travellers to sit down on some pretence or other, that stranglers may conveniently do their work of murder.

Thibaoo—The auspice or omen on the right hand. In opening an expedition the omen must be seen or heard first on the left, *Pilhaoo*; and be soon followed by one on the right. They will not open their expedition if the omen is first observed on the right, nor when observed on the left unless followed on the right.

Thibna—To sit down or rest, as a traveller.

Tubae dalna—To strangle. A term peculiar to some classes of Thugs.

Tubae Nakhna—The same.

Tighunee—The eye.

Tighunee kurna—To search.

Togree—The turban. Term confined chiefly to Berar and some other Duckun Thugs.

Taujna—To eat.

Thakur—The loud full call of the large owl, said to be like the word, "*ghoo ghoo*." This they interpret according to the ordinary rules of the *Thibaoo* and *Pilaoo*. See also *Gorgoreea* and *Kurra*. Duckun Thugs call it *Mahee* or *Raja Teekula*.

Teekula—Any suspicious thing taken from a murdered person, which it is dangerous for a Thug to carry.

Teekula purna—To be recognized, as any thing taken from a murdered person and found upon a Thug. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs; same as *Purta purna* among other Thugs.

Thokee kurna—To spit. When the leader of the gang for the time being wishes every man to be at his post ready to perform the office assigned to him, he gives the *Khokhee*, which is hawking aloud or casting up the phlegm preparatory to spitting. When they are all ready, he gives the *Jhirnee*, or signal to set to, if all is clear. If he sees cause to suspend operations, he gives the *Thokee*, that is, spits out the phlegm; when all retire

again. Commonly it is the signal for the stranglers to take post near their respective victims, but sometimes it is used on other occasions.

Tikhur—Dangerous to Thugs, either a place or person.

Tookna—To die.

Took jana—To die.

Tukrar—Search made by villagers or others after Thugs or their proceedings.

Tāil—A company or individual who has escaped by being left behind out of a party of travellers murdered. Same as *Adhoreea*.

Teel.—A person found watching or dodging the Thugs.

Thota—A Thana or police guard. Term peculiar to the Koeleea and Dooab Thugs.

Tilha—A spy or scout.

Tilhae—The office of scout.

Tooluk ruhna—To sleep, or *Toulukna*.

Thumonee—Bribery. *Thumonee dena*—To bribe.

Tombako kha lo, or *pee lo*—Eat or smoke your tobacco; technically "strangle"; one of the signals for murder.

Tome—Any thing particularly good or valuable in the spoil; a thing which the gang thinks worthy of being preserved for the head man of their village, or any great patron as a present.

Townaree—Pretence, or trick to beguile travellers.

Tankee dena—To rouse travellers from their sleep.

Thenga—A sword. Term peculiar to the Telingana or Duckun Thugs.

Tinnooa—A boy.

Tinna—The same.

Tonga—An *Anghurka* or vest. A term peculiar to the Thugs of the Dooab.

Tonkal—A party of travellers larger than the Thugs can manage to destroy.

Tona—A Thug's trick, pretext or deceit.

Tongur—Any Marhatta man. Term peculiar to the Duckun Thugs.

Tundul—One of the seven original clans of Thugs. They and the Bahleems went direct from Delhie, after their expulsion, to Multan and the Duckun, and did not rest at Agra. None of these clans are to be found in the Dooab or Bundelcund.

Tupounee—A sacrifice of goor to *Bhowanee*. This sacrifice is offered at the first convenient place after every murder. One rupee and four annas worth of goor, or coarse sugar, is purchased, and put upon a blanket or sheet spread upon the cleanest place they can select. Near the pile of sugar and on the blanket they place the consecrated pick-axe, and a piece of silver, as a "*Roop Dursun*," or silver offering. The most esteemed leader of the gang who is supposed to be most in favor with the Goddess, and best acquainted with the modes of propitiating her, is placed on the blanket, with his face to the west. As many noted stranglers as it can conveniently contain, sit on each side of this leader, with their faces in the same direction. They must be, including the leader, an even number. The rest of the gang sit outside the blanket. The leader now makes a hole in the ground, and having put into it a little of the goor, he lifts his clasped hands and eyes towards heaven, and with his mind fixed upon the Goddess, he says, "Great Goddess! as "you vouchsafed one lack and sixty-two thousand rupees "to Joora Naig, and Koduk Bunwaree in their need, so "we pray thee, fulfill our desires." In this prayer all the Thugs fervently join, repeating the words after the leader. He then sprinkles some water over the pit and pick-axe; and places a little goor upon the extended hands of every Thug seated upon the blanket with him.

One of the gang now gives the *Jhirnee*, or signal for strangling, in the same manner as if they were going to commit murder, and the Thugs upon the carpet eat their goor in solemn silence. Not a word is spoken till they have eaten the whole, and drunk some water. The pile of goor is now distributed, as consecrated food to the whole of the gang entitled from their rank to partake of it. They eat it all with silent reverence, so that no part may fall to the ground, and if any fall, it is put into the pit that it may not be soiled by the foot of any one. The silver is then given back to the person who lent it for the purpose.

No one but a man who has strangled with his own hands, and is at the same time a free man, is suffered to partake of the goor thus consecrated. For those who have not yet strangled a victim, or are not free men, sugar is set apart from the pile before consecration, and they eat it at the same time as the others on the signal given. If any thing improper, or indecorous in language, manner, or conduct, takes place during this ceremony, they consider it an evident sign of the displeasure of the deity, and despair of further success during the expedition.

If any particle of the consecrated goor should be left on the ground, and eaten by a dog or any other animal, they would, they believe, suffer under the displeasure of the deity for years. If any other human being should taste the goor, they are persuaded that he would immediately take to the trade of Thuggee, and never be able to leave it off whatever may have been his rank or condition in life. If they have any young disciple about whose advancement they are very solicitous, they try to get for him a little of the consecrated goor, assured that he would advance rapidly in his profession after eating it. See Joora Naig, and Koduk Bunwaree.

Tippana—To watch, observe.

Tiparna—To search or scrutinize, or arrest.

Thapteea—A potter. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Taup—Bread. Term peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Teep—A fire kindled among Thugs for evil purposes—*teep kurnd* to murder, divide booty, bury, or cover up the grave. They use this term whenever they require to mention fire before those who are likely to hear, but ought not to understand them commonly.

Thap—The place of encampment where the Thugs spend the night, commonly outside a village.

Thapa—The same.

Thapa—A river among the Behar and Bengal Thugs, from its banks being their general resting place.

Topka—Cloth of any kind.

Tupponee kurna—Performing the ceremony of *Tupanee.*

Tŭp jana—To quit the road on which they are moving and take another direction.

Tuppul, or *Tŭppowal*, or *Tupole*—The bye-path or *Pugdundee*, into which Thugs lead the travellers from the high road in order to murder them without danger.

Tareea—A gold mohur.

Tawree—Bread.

Tirkeea—A goldsmith. Peculiar to Duckun Thugs.

Tharee—The Sooseea Thugs are called *Thories* by other classes of Thugs.

Tirheea—A bag or knapsack.

Tarndee—A gold mohur.

Tormee—Thug, thief, or robber of any kind.

Tortunkur—A searching after, seizing, or molesting Thugs.

Tas—The *neel kunt*, or blue jay. If they see it to the right, or crossing from the left to right, it promises good. If to the left, or crossing from the right to left, it promises

no good, but threatens no evil. Its cry they consider as nothing. *Tas,* as the name of the jay is not peculiar to Thugs.

Wahurna—To strangle.

Walgee—Duckun term for *Burauk,* the crossing of a wolf or wolves on the road before the gang. Whether they cross from right to left, or left to right, it is considered a very bad omen among Duckun Thugs, and they dare not advance.

W. H. SLEEMAN,

General Superintendant.

Substance of Conversations held by Captain Sleeman, with different Thug Approvers, while preparing the Vocabulary.

Q.—Do you ever recollect any misfortune arising from going on when a hare crossed the road before you?

Nasir, of Singnapore.—Yes; when General Doveton commanded the troops at Jhalna we were advancing towards his Camp; a hare crossed the road; we disregarded the omen, though the hare actually screamed in crossing, and went on. The very next day I, with seventeen of our gang, were seized; and it was with great difficulty and delay that we got our release. We had killed some people belonging to the troops, but fortunately none of their property was found upon us.

Q.—And you think these signs are all mandates from the deity, and if properly attended to, no harm can befall you?

Nasir.—Certainly; no one doubts it; ask any body. How could Thugs have otherwise prospered? Have they not every where been protected as long as they have attended religiously to their rules?

Q.—But if there was such a deity as *Bhowanee*, and and she were your patroness, how could she allow me and others to seize and punish so many Thugs?

Nasir.—I have a hundred times heard my father and other old and wise men say, when we had killed a sweeper and otherwise infringed their rules, that we should be some

day punished for it; that the European rulers would be made the instruments to chastise us for our disregard of omens, and neglect of the rules laid down for our guidance.

Q.—And you really believe that *Bhowanee* sends these signs to warn you of danger, and guide you to your booty?

Nasir.—Can we—can any body doubt it? Did she not in former days when our ancestors attended to rules, bury the bodies for us, and save us the trouble; and remove every sign by which we could be traced?

Q.—You have heard this from your fathers, who heard it from their fathers; but none of you have ever seen it, nor is it true?

Nasir.—It is true, quite true; and though we have not seen this, we have all of us seen the sacred pickaxe spring in the morning from the well into which it had been thrown over night, and come to the hands of the man who carried it at his call: nay we have seen the pickaxes of different gangs all come up of themselves from the same well at the same time, and go to their several bearers.

Q.—Yes; and you have all seen the common jugglers, by sleights of hand, appear to turn pigeons into serpents, and serpents into rabbits, but all know that they do it by their skill, and not by the aid of any goddess. The man who carries your pickaxe is selected for his skill, and gains extra emoluments and distinction; and no doubt can, in the same manner, make it appear that the axe comes out of itself when he draws it out by his sleight of hand.

Nasir.—With great energy—" What! shall not a hundred generations of Thugs be able to distinguish the tricks of man from the miracles of God? Is there not the difference of heaven and earth between them? Is not one a mere trick, and the other a miracle, witnessed by hundreds assembled at the same time?"

Q.—Sahib Khan, you are more sober than Nasir, have you ever seen it?

Sahib Khan.— On one expedition only.

Q.—Who were the pickaxe bearers?

Sahib.—They were Imam Khan and his brother.

Q.—From what country?

Sahib.—From Arcot. I was obliged to fly from Telingana when Major Parker and Captain Sheriff made their inroad upon us (Gurdee) and I went and joined the Arcot gangs. During a whole expedition that I made with them, Imam Khan and his brother carried the pickaxe, and I heard them repeatedly in the morning call them from the well into which they had thrown them over night, and saw the pickaxes come of themselves from the well, and fall into their aprons, which they held open *thus*:— Here he described the mode.

Q.—And you never saw any of your own gangs do this?

Sahib.—Never; I have Thugged for twenty years and never saw it.

Q.—How do you account for this?

Sahib.—Merely by supposing that they attend more to omens and regulations than we do. Among us it is a rule never to kill women; but if a rich old woman is found, the gang sometimes gets a man to strangle her by giving him an extra share of the booty, and inducing him to take the responsibility upon himself. We have sometimes killed other prohibited people, particularly those of low cast, whom we ought not even to have touched.

Q.—You are from the Delhi clans?

Sahib.—Yes, I am of the Bursote clan, and my family went to the Dunkun, three generations ago.

Q.—Do you think the Arcot and Carnatic gangs are also from the Delhi clans?

Sahib.—We suppose that all Thugs originated by descent or initiation from the Delhi clans: but I think we are wrong. I became intimate with the Arcot gangs; and some of them, about seven years ago, after my return, came and settled in Telingana, between Hydrabad and Masulipatam, where they still carry on their trade of Thuggee; but they will never intermarry with our families—saying that we once *drove bullocks and were itinerant tradesmen*, and consequently of lower cast. They trace back the trade of Thuggee in their families to more generations than we can, and they are more skilful and observant of rules and omens than we are; and I, therefore, think that they are neither descended from the Delhi stock, nor were ever disciples of theirs.

Q.—Do you think there is any truth in their assertion that your ancestors drove bullocks?

Sahib.—I think there is. We have some usages and traditions that seem to imply that our ancestors kept bullocks, and traded; but how I know not.

Here a Brahman Thug, of one of the most ancient Thug families, interposed, and declared that he had seen the funeral rites of Musulman Thugs, and that the women who brought the water there chanted all the occupations of the ancestors of the deceased, which demonstrated that they were originally descended from gangs of wandering *Khunjurs*, or vagrant Musulmans, who followed armies and lived in the suburbs of cities, and in the wild wastes, and that their pretensions to higher descent was all nonsense. Several Musulman Thugs protested sturdily against this, but the arguments were too strong against them, and after a time the dialogue was resumed.

Q.—What do you think, *Sahib Khan*, am I right in thinking that we shall suppress Thuggee, or is *Nasir* right in thinking we shall not?

Sahib.—There have been several gurdies (throads,) upon Thuggee, but they have ended in nothing but the punishment of a few; and, as *Nasir* says, we have heard our fathers and sages predict these things as punishments for our transgression of prescribed rules; but none of them ever said that Thuggee would be done away with. This seems a greater and more general gurdie than any, and I know not what to think.

Q.—But tell me freely; do you think we shall annihilate it?

Sahib.—How can the hand of man do away with the works of God.

Q.—You are a Musulman?

Sahib.—Yes, and the greater part of the Thugs of the south are Musulmans.

Q.—And you still marry; inherit; pray; eat and drink according to the Koran; and your paradise is to be the paradise promised by Mahommud?

Sahib.—Yes, all, all.

Q.—Has *Bhowanee* been any where named in the Koran?

Sahib.—No where.

Here a Musulman Thug from Hindustan interposed, and said, he thought *Bhowanee* and *Fatima*, the daughter of Mahommud, and wife of *Alee*, were one and the same person; and that it was *Fatima* who invented the use of the *roomal* to strangle the great demon *Rukut-beej-dana*; which led to a discussion between him and some of my Musulman native officers, who did not like to find the amiable *Fatima* made a goddess of Thuggee—An "Iphigenia in Tauris." The Thug was a sturdy *wrangler*, and in the estimation of his associate Thugs had, I think, the best of the argument.

Q.—Then has *Bhowanee* any thing to do with your paradise?

Sahib.—Nothing.

Q.—She has no influence upon your future state ?

Sahib.—None.

Q.—Does Mahommud, your prophet, any where sanction crimes like yours ; the murder in cold blood of your fellow creatures for the sake of their money ?

Sahib.—No.

Q.—Does he not say that such crimes will be punished by God in the next world ?

Sahib.—Yes.

Q.—Then do you never feel any dread of punishment hereafter ?

Sahib.—Never ; we never murder unless the omens are favorable ; and we consider favorable omens as the mandates of the deity.

Q.—What deity ?

Sahib.—*Bhowanee.*

Q.—But *Bhowanee*, you say, has no influence upon the welfare, or otherwise, of your soul hereafter ?

Sahib.—None, we believe ; but she influences our fates in this world, and what she orders in this world, we believe, that God will not punish in the next.

Q.—And you believe that if you were to murder without the observance of the omens and regulations, you would be punished both in this world and the next like other men ?

Sahib.—Certainly ; no man's family ever survives a murder : it becomes extinct. A Thug who murders in this way loses the children he has, and is never blessed with more.

Q.—In the same manner as if a Thug had murdered a Thug ?

Sahib.—Precisely ; he cannot escape punishment.

Q.—And when you observe the omens and rules, you neither feel a dread of punishment here nor hereafter ?

Sahib.—Never.

Q.—And do you never feel sympathy for the persons murdered—never pity or compunction?

Sahib.—Never.

Q.—How can you murder old men and young children without some emotions of pity—calmly and deliberately as they sit with you and converse with you,—and tell you of their private affairs,—of their hopes and fears,—and of the wives and children, they are going to meet after years of absence, toil and suffering?

A.—From the time that the omens have been favorable, we consider them as victims thrown into our hands by the deity to be killed; and that we are the mere instrument in her hands to destroy them: that if we do not kill them, she will never be again propitious to us, and we and our families will be involved in misery and want.

Q.—And you can sleep as soundly by the bodies or over the graves of those you have murdered, and eat your meals with as much appetite as ever?

Sahib.—Just the same; we sleep and eat just the same unless we are afraid of being discovered.

Q.—And when you see or hear a bad omen, you think it is the order of the deity not to kill the travellers you have with you or are in pursuit of?

Sahib.—Yes; it is the order not to kill them, and we dare not disobey.

Q.—Do your wives never reproach you with your deeds?

Sahib.—In the South we never tell our wives what we do lest they should disclose our secrets.

Q.—And if you told them would they not reproach you?

Sahib.—Some would, and some, like those of other Thugs who do tell them, would quietly acquiesce.

Q.—And be as affectionate and dutiful as the wives of other men?

Sahib.—The fidelity of the wives of Thugs is proverbial throughout India.

Q.—That is among Thugs ?

Sahib.—Yes.

Q.—And the fear of the *roomal* (*Pehloo*) operates a little to produce this ?

Sahib.—Perhaps a little, but there have been very few instances of women killed for infidelity among us.

Q.—And your children too reverence their Thug fathers like other sons, even after they have become acquainted with their trade ?

Sahib.—The same : we love them and they love us the same.

Q.—At what age do you initiate them ?

Sahib.—I was initiated by my father when I was only thirteen years of age.

Q.—Have you any rule as to the age ?

Sahib.—None ; a father is sometimes avaricious, and takes his son out very young, merely to get his share of the booty ; for the youngest boy gets as much in his share as the oldest man : but generally a father is anxious to have his son in the rank of the *Burkas* as soon as possible ; he does not like to have him considered a *Kuboola* after he has attained the age of puberty.

Q.—How soon do you let them see your operations ?

Sahib.—The first expedition they neither see nor hear any thing of murder. They know not our trade, they get presents, purchased out of their share, and become fond of the wandering life, as they are always mounted upon ponies. Before the end of the journey they know that we rob. The next expedition they suspect that we commit murder, and some of them even know it; and in the third expedition they see all.

Q.—Do they not become frightened ?

Sahib.—Not after the second or third expedition.

Feringeea.—About twelve years ago my cousin Aman Subahdar took out with us my cousin Kurhora, brother of Omrow approver, a lad of fourteen, for the first time. He was mounted upon a pretty pony, and Hursooka, an adopted son of Aman's was appointed to take charge of the boy.

We fell in with five Sikhs, and when we set out before daylight in the morning, Hursooka, who had been already on three expeditions, was ordered to take the bridle and keep the boy in the rear out of sight and hearing. The boy became alarmed, and impatient, got away from Hursooka, and galloped up at the instant the *J,hirnee,* or signal for murder was given. He heard the screams of the men, and saw them all strangled. He was seized with a trembling, and fell from his pony; he became immediately delirious, was dreadfully alarmed at the sight of the turbans of the murdered men, and when any one touched or spoke to him, talked about the murders and screamed exactly like a boy talks in his sleep, and trembled violently if any one spoke to him or touched him. We could not get him on, and after burying the bodies, Aman and I, and a few others, sat by him while the gang went on: we were very fond of him, and tried all we could to tranquilize him, but he never recovered his senses, and before evening he died. I have seen many instances of feelings greatly shocked at the sight of the first murder, but never one so strong as this. Kurhora was a very fine boy, and Hursooka took his death much to heart, and turned Byragee; he is now at some temple on the bank of the Nurbudda river.

Q.—Was not Jhurhoo, who was taken with your gang after the Bhilsa murders, and hung at Jubulpore, a brother of his ?

Feringeea.—Yes, poor Jhurhoo! you ought not to have hung him; he never strangled or assisted in strangling any man!! Here the tears ran down over Feringeea's face. Strange as it may seem, I have never heard him speak of his young cousin Jhurhoo's fate without weeping, and yet all the males of his family have been Thugs for ten generations. Another brother of this Jhurhoo, is a very noted Thug leader, still at large—Phoolsa.

Q.—Do you in the Duckun send any offerings to the Brahmans of the temple of *Davey?*

Feringeea.—Never; we neither make offerings to her temples, nor do we ever consult any of her priests or those of any other temples. Our sages alone are consulted, and they consult omens alone as their guides.

Q.—Have they any written treatises on augury?

Feringeea.—None; they never consult books; they learn all from tradition and experience.

Q.—But you worship at *Davey's* temples?

Feringeea.—Yes, of course, all men worship at her temple.

Q.—No.—We *Sahib loge* never do.

Feringeea.—I mean all Hindoos and Musulmans. Here my Mahommudun officers again interposed, and declared that they never did; that it was only the very lowest order of Musulmans that did. But, unfortunately, these keen observers of passing events had seen the wives of some very respectable Musulmans at Jubulpore, during the time that the small pox was raging, take their children to her temples and prostrate them before the images of the Goddess of Destruction. The officers admitted this to be sometimes the case, but pretended that it was unknown to their husbands.

Sahib Khan and *Nasir.*—In the Duckun the greatest Nawabs and Officers of State worship at the temples,

and prostrate themselves and their children before the image of the Goddess when the small pox or the cholera morbus rages. We have ourselves seen them do it often.

Q.—And do they believe you Thugs to be under her special protection?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Some of them do, and though they often try to dissuade us from our trade, they are afraid to punish us. Bura Sahib Jemadar, of Madura, had several hundred followers, and used to make valuable presents to Nawab Dollee Khan who knew how he got them, and offered him a high post with rent-free lands if he would leave off the trade. He would not.

Q.—What became of him at last?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—There was a great Decoit leader of the same name who had been committing great ravages, and orders were sent by the Nawab to the local officers to blow him away from a gun as soon as they could seize him. They seized Sahib Khan Thug, and blew him away by mistake, before the Nowab got information of the arrest. In a few hours after his death a message came from the Nawab to say that he feared there might be a mistake, and when he heard that Sahib Khan Thug had been blown away, he was much grieved, but said that God must have ordained it, and the fault was not his.

Q.—Has he any sons?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Yes. He has two Ameen Sahib, 45 years of age, who has a gang of thirty Thugs; and Rajee Khan, 40 years of age, who has a gang of ten Thugs, all from among their relations and connexions; and they act together and live in Omurda, Taalluk Afzulpore, in the Hyderabad territories.

Q.—What made your friends desert their old abodes in Arcot?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Some Magistrate got hold of some Thugs who turned informers, and gave them a good deal of annoyance.

Q.—Have they returned?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Some of them have gone back, and a great many who had not been molested remained there till the annoyance was over.

Q.—What leaders came away?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Sheikh Amed who is considered the most able leader of his day. He has sixty fully initiated Thugs *(Borkas)* who pretend to be recruits for Regiments. He is thoroughly acquainted with the Drill of the Company's Regiments and their Military terms, and can speak English.

Q.—How do you know? You do not understand English.

Sahib and *Nasir.*—He can make the Gentlemen and those who speak English understand when he speaks a language we do not understand, and he tells us this is English. Other Thug leaders generally display their wealth in an ostentatious appearance that betrays them. Sheikh Amed is 60 years of age, and will go about for months cooking his own food, walking and living like the poorest man, while he can command the services of a hundred men.

Q.—Who are the others?

Sahib and *Nasir.*—Osman Khan, who has about 30 *Borkas,* or fully initiated and able Thugs. He is 50 years of age.

Husun Khan, who has 25 *Borkas,* and is 55 years of age.

Sahib Khan of Lodeekar, who has 30 *Borkas,* and is 45 years of age.

Tipoo Jemadar, brother of Sahib Khan, who has 10 *Borkas,* and is about 40 years of age.

Hoseyn Khan, the nephew of Husun Khan, who has about 6 *Borkas*, and is 35 years of age.

Noor Khan, who has 10, and is about 40; all these leaders came to Telingana from the Carnatic about the same time and settled near Nulganda, about fifty cose from Hyderabad, on the road to Masulapatam, and they operate on the roads leading to the seaports.

Q.—You consider that a *Borka* is capable of forming a gang in any part of India to which he may be obliged to fly?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—Certainly, in any part that we have seen of it.

Q.—Do you know any instance of it?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—A great number; Mudee Khan was from the old Sindouse stock, and was obliged to emigrate after the attack upon that place. Many years afterwards we met him in the Duckun, and he had then a gang of fifty Thugs of all casts and descriptions. I asked him who they were; he told me that they were weavers, braziers, bracelet-makers, and all kinds of ragamuffins, whom he had scraped together about his new abode on the banks of the Herun and Nurbudda rivers, in the districts of Jebulpore and Nursingpore. He was a Musulman, and so were Lal Khan, Kalee Khan, who formed gangs after the Sindouse dispersion along the same rivers.

Q.—Did they find the same patrons among the land holders and other heads of villages?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—They every where made friends by the same means; and without patrons they could not have thrived. They were obliged of course to give them a liberal share of the booty.

Q.—But these men have all been punished, which does not indicate the protection of *Davey*?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—It indicates the danger of scraping together such a set of fellows for Thuggee. They killed all people indiscriminately, women and men, of all casts and professions, and knew so little about omens that they entered upon their expeditions and killed people, in spite of such as the most ignorant ought to have known were prohibitive. They were punished in consequence, as we all knew that they would be; and we always used to think it dangerous to be associated with them for even a few days. Ask many of them who are now here,—Kureem Khan, Sheikh Kureem, Rumzanee and others, whether this is not true, and whether they ever let go even a sweeper if he appeared to have a rupee about him!

Q.—And you think that if they had been well instructed in the signs and rules, and attended to them they would have thrived?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—Undoubtedly; so should we all.

Q.—You think that a *Kuboola* or tyro could not any where form a gang of Thugs of himself?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—Never; he could know nothing of our rules of augury, or proceedings; and how could he possibly succeed? Does not all our success depend upon knowing and observing omens and rules?

Q.—It would therefore never be very dangerous to release such a man as a *Kuboola*?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—Never; unless he could join men better instructed than himself. Every one must be convinced that it is by knowing and attending to omens and rules that Thuggee has thrived.

Q.—I am not convinced, nor are any of the *native officers* present; on the contrary, we do all we can to put down what you call an institution of the deity, and without dreading at all the effects of her resentment?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—They may say so, but they all know that no man's family can survive a murder committed in any other way; and yet Thugs have thrived through a long series of generations. We have all children like other men, and we are never visited with any extraordinary affliction.

Q.—Tell me frankly which oath, now while you are in custody, you who are Musulmans deem the strongest,—that upon the Koran or that upon the pickaxe?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—If we could be allowed to consecrate the pickaxe in the prescribed form, neither the Koran nor any thing else on earth could be so binding; but without consecration it would be of no avail.

Q.—Do you not sometimes make up a piece of cloth in the jail in the form of the pickaxe, and swear upon it?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—We have heard that the Hindustan Thugs do, but we have never seen it.

Q.—Do you think it answers?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—It may with proper consecration ceremonies, but we have never tried it. Even *mud* made into the same form and consecrated would do. If any man swears to a falsehood upon a pickaxe, properly consecrated, we will consent to be hung if he survives the time appointed; appoint one, two or three days when he swears, and we pledge ourselves that he does not live a moment beyond the time; he will die a horrid death; his head will turn round, his face towards the back, and he will writhe in tortures till he dies.

Q.—And all this you have seen?

Sahib and *Nasir*.—Yes, we have all seen it.

Q.—Above the Nurbudda, chiefs have never had the same dread of punishing Thugs as below it; have they?

Feringeea.—They had formerly, and have still in many parts.

Q.—Why should they fear; have there been any instances of suffering from it?

Feringeea.—A great many. Was not Nanha, the Raja of Jhalone, made leprous by *Davey* for putting to death Bodhoo and his brother Khumolee, two of the most noted Thugs of their day. He had them trampled under the feet of elephants, but the leprosy broke out upon his body the very next day.

Q.—Did he believe that this punishment was inflicted by *Davey* for putting them to death?

Dorgha Musulman.—He was quite sensible of it.

Q.—Did he do any thing to appease her?

Dorgha.—Every thing. Bodhoo had began a well in Jhalone; the Raja built it up in a magnificent style; he had a chubootra (tomb) raised to their name, fed Brahmuns, and consecrated it, had worship instituted upon it, but all in vain; the disease was incurable, and the Raja died in a few months a miserable death. The tomb and well are both kept up and visited by hundreds to this day, and no one doubts that the Raja was punished for putting these two Thugs to death.

Q.—But Bodhoo had his nose and hands cut off before, and could have been no favorite of *Davey's*?

Feringeea.—But he was a Thug of great repute; for sagacity we have never seen his equal; people who had been robbed used to go to him as an oracle.

Q.—But he had turned informer, and was sent to Jhalone by Mr. Stockwell to arrest his associates.

Dorgha.—He went to Mr. Stockwell in a passion; his heart was not fully turned away from us then?

Q.—Have you any other instances?

Inaent.—Hundreds! When Madhajee Scindheea caused seventy Thugs to be executed at Muthura, was he not warned in a dream by *Davey* that he should release

them? and did he not the very day after their execution begin to spit blood? and did he not die within three months?

Feringeea.—When Dureear the Rathore, and Komere and Patore the Kuchwaha Rajpoots, Zumeendars, arrested eighty of the Thugs who had settled at Nodha after the murder of Lieut. Monsell, they had many warnings to let them go; but they persisted and kept them till some thirty died. They collected fourteen thousand rupees at the rate of one hundred and twenty-five rupees from every Thug. What became of their families. Have they not all perished? They have not a child left. Rae Sing Havildar, the Gwalior Subah of Nodha, took the money, but that very day his only son and the best horse in his stable died, and he was himself taken ill and died soon after a miserable death.

Nasir.—Ah *Davey* took care of you then, and why? Was it not because you were more attentive to her orders?

Zolfukar.—Yes; we had then some regard for *religion.* We have lost it since. All kinds of men have been made Thugs, and all classes of people murdered, without distinction, and little attention has been paid to omens. How after this could we expect to escape?

Nasir.—Be assured that *Davey* never forsook us till we neglected her.

Q.—Do you know of any instance of her punishing a man for annoying Thugs in the Duckun?

Sahib Khan.—A great many. The Raja of Kundul, some ninety cose east from Hydrabad, arrested all the Thugs in his Raj for some murders they had committed. For three successive nights the voice of *Davey* was heard from the top of every temple in the capital, warning the Raja to release them. The whole town heard her, and urged the Raja to comply. He was obstinate, and the

third night the bed on which he and his Ranee were sleeping was taken up by *Davey* and dashed violently against the ground.

Q.—Were they killed?

Nasir.—They were not killed, but they were dreadfully bruised; and had they not released the Thugs, they would certainly have been killed the next night.

Q.—Were any of you present?

Sahib Khan.—Our fathers were, and we heard it from them. It occurred sixty years ago.

Q.—And do you think that the Chiefs have still the same dread of punishing Thugs in all parts of India?

Sahib.—Certainly not in all parts; because in many they have been suffered to punish them with impunity on account of their neglect of rules and omens.

Morlee.—There is no fear now. They are every where seized and punished with impunity; there is no resisting your *Ikbal* (good fortune).

Dorgha.—The Company's *Ikbal* is such that before the sound of your drums, sorcerers, witches and demons take flight, and how can Thuggee stand.

Davey Deen—Thuggee! why it is gone; there are not fifty Aseel Thugs, (Thugs of good birth) left between the Ganges and Jumna.

Chotee Brahman.—And not more than that number of all our old clans of Gwalior and Bundelcund; but the Sooseeas of Rajpootana have been untouched, and much is to be done about Delhie and Puteeala.

Q.—But Nasir and Sahib Khan think that it can never be suppressed in the Duckun?

Nasir.—I think it never can.

Sahib Khan.—I do not say it never can. I say only that the country is very large; that in every one of these districts there are hundreds of Aseel Thugs, who are

staunch to their oath, and attentive to their usages; that the country is every where intersected by the jurisdiction of Native Chiefs who cannot be easily persuaded to assist.

Nasir.—Assist! why when we go into their districts after a Thug we are every instant in danger of our lives. I got nearly killed with all the guard lately when close upon the heels of a gang, and when I complained to Captain Reynolds, he told me that we must consent to bear these drubbings on account of the Company, or I could be of no use to him in such a country as that!

Q.—And you think that all these obstacles are not to be overcome?

Nasir.—I think not.

Q.—That is, you think an institution formed by *Davey*, the Goddess, cannot be suppressed by the hand of man?

Nasir.—Certainly, I think so.

Q.—But you think that no man is killed by man's killing, "*admeeke marne se koee murta nuheen*;" that all who are strangled are strangled, in effect, by God.

Nasir.—Certainly.

Q.—Then by whose killing have all the Thugs who have been hung a Saugor and Jubulpore been killed?

Nasir.—God's of course.

Q.—You think that we could never have caught and executed them but by the aid of God.

Nasir.—Certainly not.

Q.—Then you think that so far we have been assisted by God in what we have done?

Nasir.—Yes.

Q.—And you are satisfied that we should not have ventured to do what we have done unless we were assured that our God was working with us, or rather that we were [illegible] mere instruments in his hands?

[illegible]—Yes, I am.

Q.—Then do you not think that we may go on with the same assurance till the work we have in hand is done; till in short, the system of Thuggee is suppressed?

Nasir.—God is almighty.

Q.—And there is but one God?

Nasir.—One God above all Gods.

Q.—And if that God above all Gods supports us, we shall succeed?

Nasir.—Certainly.

Q.—Then we are all satisfied that he is assisting us, and therefore hope to succeed even in the Duckun?

Nasir.—God only knows?

Sahib Khan.—If God assists, you will succeed; but the country is large and favorable, and the gangs are numerous, and well organized.

Q.—So was the country we have already gone over. How many Thug leaders from Sindouse after Mr. Halhed and Mr. Stockwell's attacks came and settled in the Saugor and Nurbudda districts?

Sheikh Inayat.—My father Hinga Jemadar and his three sons, two of whom were hung at Saugor the year before last, came to Lowa, a village between Dhamonee and Khimlassa in Saugor; my younger brother Dhurum Khan was born after my father's death; his mother could not, and my wife nursed him. We were joined by Monowur Musulman, Niddee and Mungoa Brahmans, Lulloo and his sons. Here follow the names of sixty-one Thugs of note that came from the great Sindouse stock and settled in different parts of these territories, and formed new gangs.*

Q.—And how many of these noted Thugs and the gangs they formed are still at large?

* See Appendix B.

Sheikh Inayat.—Since I was taken in 1829, these have all been seized, and have been hung or transported or are now in jail. Two of my brothers have been hung. My youngest is now here. The men whom they made Thugs have also all been taken, and there are only five or six that we know of. There are Bahadur Chabukaswur, Kuseea Kirar, Bodhooa, son of another Bahadur: these are new Thugs; but they proved themselves good ones. There are Kadir and Poosoo, adopted sons of Imamee, the son of Mirja Musulman. These Thugs are at large in the district of Seonee or Nursingpore. We know of no others.

Q.—Do you not think that if we persevere, we shall be able to do in the Duckun what we have done here, and in the Dooab?

Inaent.—No doubt.

Sahib Khan.—It will be a work of greater difficulty. Half or three quarters of these gangs were Kuboolas. In the Duckun they are almost all composed entirely of *Burkas*—men well born, staunch and able; above all the men of Arcot.

Feringeea.—And the Hindoo Thugs of Talghat upon the Krishna river?

Sahib Khan.—Yes; they are extraordinary men.

Feringeea.—They have three painted lines on their foreheads extending up from a central point at the nose. I served with them once for two months.

Sahib Khan.—Yes; they have these lines.

Q.—But do not all Hindoos in that quarter wear the same marks?

Sahib Khan.—All Hindoos put them on occasionally, but they always wear them. They and the Arcot Thugs associate and act together; but they will never mix with us of Telingana.

Q.—What are they called?

Sahib Khan.—We call them the Talghat men. What they call themselves I know not.

Q.—Sahib Khan tells me that the Arcot men will not intermarry with the descendants from the old Delhi clans, because they think they were originally of lower cast?

Sahib Khan.—But we refuse our daughters to them as they refuse theirs to us; and they are in error when they suppose us of low origin.

Q.—Have you Hindoostan men any funeral ceremonies by which your origin can be learnt?

Inaent.—No funeral ceremonies; but at marriages an old matron will sometimes repeat, as she throws down the *Toolsee*, "Here's to the spirits of those who once led bears, and monkeys; to those who drove bullocks, and marked with the godnee; and those who made baskets for the head."

Q.—And does not this indicate that your ancestors were Khunjurs, itinerant tradesmen, wandering with their herds and families about the country.

Sahib Khan.—By no means. It only indicates that our ancestors after their captivity at Delhi, were obliged to adopt these disguises to effect their escape. Some pretended to have dancing bears and monkeys; some to have herds of cattle, and to be wandering Khunjurs, (Gypsies); but they were not really so; they were high cast Musulmans.

Dorgha.—Certainly. I have heard this often from our wise men.

Feringeea.—You may hear and say what you please, but your funeral and marriage ceremonies indicate that your ancestors were nothing more than Khunjurs and vagrants about the great city?

Inaent.—It is impossible to say whether they were really what is described in these ceremonies, or pretended to be so; that they performed these offices for a time is unquestionable, but I think they must have been assumed as disguises.

Feringeea.—But those who emigrated direct from Delhi into remote parts of India, and did not rest at Agra, retain those professions up to the present day; as the Moltanies?

Sahib Khan.—True; but it is still as disguises to conceal their real profession of Thuggee.

Feringeea.—True, and under the same guise they practised their trade of Thuggee round Delhi before the captivity, and could never have had any other

Sahib.—I pretend not to know when they put on the disguise, but I am sure it was a disguise; and that they were never really leaders of bears and monkeys.

Q.—Have the Talghat men the same language and usages as you have?

Sahib.—They have the same omens and language, and observe the same rules; but we hear that they use the round instead of the oblong grave to bury their victims, the same as the Behar men. They call it the *Chukree*; the Behar men and others call it the *Gobba.*

Q.—You call yourself Telingana Thugs—What do you understand by the term?

Sahib.—The country extending from Nandair to Nulgonda, which is four stages from Hydrabad on the road to Musalapatam.

Q.—How many divisions do the Thugs count in the Duckun—that is, the country south of the Nurbudda?

Sahib.—There are five districts—1, Telingana—2, Berar, extending from Nagpore to Nandair—3, The Duckun, extending from Mominabad, which is fifty cose

from Hyderabad on the road to Poona, to the city of Poona—4, The Kurnatic, extending from Satara to Kurpakundole—5, Arcot, extending from Kurpakundole to Seetabuldee Ramesur.

Q.—And the Thugs of these several divisions consider themselves as distinct?

Sahib.—All distinct, and called after their divisions as Telinganies, Arcoties, Kurnatekies, Duckunees, and Beraries.

Q.—Can you name the principal leaders now at large in these divisions?

Sahib.—Yes, all except those who reside in Arcot. The only leaders of that district that I know are the men already named, who occasionally go back, and always keep up their connexions with their old associates. Here follow the names of all the principal leaders in each of the five districts.*

Q.—How is it that you Hindostan Thugs kill women with less scruple than the Duckun Thugs?

Feringeea.—To that we owe much of our misfortunes. It began with the murder of the Kalee Bebee.

Q.—Who was the Kalee Bebee?

Dorgha.—I was not present, but have heard that she was on her way from Elichpore to Hyderabad with a gold chadur or sheet for the tomb of Dolla Khan Nowab, the brother of Salabut Khan of Hyderabad, who had died just before. Shumshere Khan and Golab Khan strangled her I believe.

Q.—When was this?

Dorgha.—It was I believe about four years before the Surtrook affair in which we murdered the

* See Appendix

sixty persons at Chitterkote, among whom were some women.*

Q.—In what year did that take place?

Dorgha.—I do not know; but it was either the year before, or two years before the Surgooja expedition in which the Chuleesrooh affair took place (forty persons at one time) where women were again murdered.

Q.—Do you recollect the year?

Kuleean Sing.—The Surgooja expedition took place the year that Mr. Jenkins went first from Banares to Nagpore as Resident, and the Chuleesrooh was one of the affairs. He had just arrived and was encamped near the Seetabuldee hill when our gang reached Nagpore.

Q.—Did any calamity befal you after the murder of the Kalee Bebee?

Dorgha.—I think not.

Q.—And therefore you continued to kill them?

Feringeea.—For five years no misfortune followed, and they continued to kill women; but then the misfortunes of my family began.

Q.—What relation had you there?

Feringeea.—My father Purusram was one of the principal leaders, and the chadur they got was worth about three thousand rupees. It was cut up and divided, and my father brought home one fine slip. But the fifth year after this his misfortunes began; our family was never happy; not a year passed without his losing something, or being seized; he was seized every year some where or other.

Ghasee Subahdar was another leader, and he suffered similar misfortunes, and his family became miserable.

* This gang of Thugs must have travelled above one hundred and sixty miles with these people before they put them to death, and been in company with them about twelve days, on the most friendly terms.

Look at our families; see how they are annihilated; all that survive are in prison except Phoolsa and Rambuksh.

Q.—And still you went on killing women in spite of your conviction that your misfortunes arose from it?

Dorgha.—Yes, it was our fate to do so.

Q.—And you are worse than the Duckun Thugs, for you murder handsome young women as well as the old and ugly?

Feringeea.—Not always. I and my cousin Aman Subahdar were with a gang of one hundred and fifty Thugs on an expedition through Rajpootana about thirteen years ago when we met a handmaid of the Peshwa, Bajee Row's, on her way from Poona to Cawnpore. We intended to kill her and her followers, but we found her very beautiful, and after having her and her party three days within our grasp, and knowing that they had a lakh and a half of rupees worth of property in jewels and other things with them, we let her and all her party go: we had talked to her and felt love towards her, for she was very beautiful.

Q.—And how came you to kill the Moghulanee. She also is said to have been very handsome?

Feringeea.—We none of us ventured near her palankeen. The Musulmans were the only men that approached her before the murder. Madar Buksh approver strangled her.

And you think killing women has been one of the chief causes of your misfortunes?

Feringeea.—Yes.

Q.—And of our success against you?

Kuleean Sing.—Yes; I and my gang were arrested after the murder of Newul Sing and his daughters at Biseynee in 1820.

Q.—But Newul Sing had lost an arm, and you before told me that you suffered because you there infringed a good old rule and murdered a maimed person?

Kuleean.—Yes; it was partly that; but was not the great gang seized by Mr. Molony after the murder of Monshee Bunda Alee and his wife and daughter at Lucknadown, three years after?

Q.—Who was that Bunda Alee. I have never been able to discover?

Kuleean.—He was the Monshee of General Doveton, who commanded at Jhalna, and he was going to his home in Hindustan to celebrate the marriage of that daughter. His wife and an infant daughter and six servants, besides the eldest daughter, were all strangled.

Q.—Was not this about the time that you and your party were arrested, Nasir, for not attending to the omen of the hare?

Nasir.—When we were taken before General Doveton he was in Durbar, and there was a Moonshee called Bunda Alee present. He did not write down our statements, but he asked questions, and explained them to the General. Rangrow Brahman, his Kamdar, wrote them down. He took down all the stages we had made, the names of our villages, and could not find any discrepancies.

Q.—Who denounced you to the General?

Nasir.—There were two brothers going to cantonments with bullocks, one had gone on in advance, and the other we murdered. The man in advance came back for his brother, and seeing us one hundred and fifty Thugs, and not finding his brother, he suspected us of the murder. A large party of horse and foot came after us. All however made off but eighteen of the staunchest and of most respectable appearance, who remained to

stop the pursuit. We pretended to have been going with our friends in search of service; and after a long examination, Moonshee Bunda Alee urged the improbability of so large a body of robbers coming so far to murder one poor bullock driver. This argument had weight; we were let go and the bullock man sent about his business.

Q.—Was this the same Bunda Alee who was afterwards murdered, think you?

Nasir.—I do not know; I never saw him or heard of him after that time.

Q.—How long ago was it?

Nasir.—About thirteen or fourteen years ago.

Q.—Had not the daughters of Newul Sing Jemadar prevented the gang from being imprisoned?

Kuleean.—Yes. Omrow Sing, Dufadar of Captain Nicolson's Corps, was then on duty at Seonee. The gang had brought on this family from Nagpore. They were Newul Sing, a Jemadar in the Nizam's service, who had lost one arm, his brother Hurbuns Sing, his two daughters, one thirteen and the other eleven years of age, the two young men who were to have been married to them on reaching home, Kuleean Sing and Aman, the brother of the two girls, a boy about seven years of age, and four servants. The house in which part of the gang lodged at Dhoma took fire, and the greater part of the gang was seized by the police, but released at the urgent request of Newul Sing and his daughters, who had become much attached to Khimolee, the principal leader of the gang, and some of the others. Omrow Sing Dufadar was a relation of Newul Sing, and he assisted in getting them released as he can now tell you. Had the gang been then imprisoned and searched we must have been discovered, as they had with them two bags of silk taken from three carriers on their way from Nagpore to

Jubulpore, whom we had murdered in the great temple at Kamtee, where the cantonments now stand.

On reaching Jubulpore part of the gang went on, Adhartal and the rest lodged in the town with Newul Sing and his family. The merchants at Nagpore finding that their men with the silk had not reached Jubulpore, and hearing of our gang having passed, sent to their correspondents at Jubulpore, who got the Cotwal to search those who were lodged with Newul Sing. Hearing of the approach of the police, Khimolee again availed himself of the attachment of Newul Sing and his daughters, and the girls were made to sit each upon one of the two bags of silk while the police searched the place. Nothing was found, and the next day they set out and passed us at Adhartal, and five days after this they were all strangled at Biseynee.*

Q.—How did you not preserve the infant daughter of Bunda Alee Moonshee for adoption?

Chutter.—Ghubboo Khan strangled the mother while her infant was in her arms, and he determined to keep and adopt the child; but after the bodies had all been put into the grave, Dhunnee Khan urged him to kill the child also, or we should be seized on crossing the Nurbudda valley. He threw the child living in upon the dead bodies, and the grave was filled up over it.

Q.—And the child was buried alive?

* This gang accompanied Newul Sing and his family from near Nagpore through Seonee and Jubulpore to Biseynee, a distance of more than two hundred miles, and were with them about twenty days on the most intimate terms, before they put them all to death. The circumstance of Newul Sing's having lost an arm made them hesitate, and one gang separated from the main body before they reached Seonee rather than be present at his murder; and there seemed no chance of their being able to separate him from the rest.

Chutter.—Yes. My brother Dulput and I were then mere children; we were seized in cossing the Nurbudda valley and never after released; he is now dead, and I am the only surviving son of Ghasee Subahdar.

Q.—How was that affair managed?

Chutter.—We fell in with the Moonshee and his family at Chupara, between Nagpore and Jubulpore; and they came on with us to Lucknadown, where we found that some Companies of a Native Regiment under European officers, were expected the next morning. It was determined to put them all to death that evening, as the Moonshee seemed likely to keep with the Companies. Our encampment was near the village, and the Moonshee's tent was pitched close to us. In the afternoon some of the Officers' tents came on in advance, and were pitched on the other side, leaving us between them and the village. The Khulasies were all busily occupied in pitching them, Noor Khan and his son Sadee Khan and a few others, went as soon as it became dark to the Moonshee's tent, and began to sing and play upon a Sitar, as they had been accustomed to do. During this time some of them took up the Moonshee's sword on pretence of wishing to look at it. His wife and children were inside listening to the music. The *Jhirnee*, or signal, was given, but at this moment the Moonshee saw his danger, called out murder, and attempted to rush through, but was seized and strangled. His wife hearing him, ran out with the infant in her arms, but was seized by Ghubboo Khan, who strangled her and took the infant. The other daughter was strangled in the tent. The Saeses (Grooms) were at the time cleaning their horses, and one of them seeing his danger, ran under the belly of his horse, and called out murder; but he was soon seized and strangled as well as all the rest.

Q.—How did not the Khalasies and others who were pitching the tent close by hear these calls for help?

Chutter.—As soon as the signal was given, those of the gang who were idle began to play and sing as loud as they could; and two vicious horses were let loose and many ran after them calling out as loud as they could; so that the calls of the Moonshee and his party were drowned.

Q.—Do you Behar Thugs ever murder women?

Moradun.—Never; we should not murder a woman if she had a lakh of rupees upon her.

Davey deen.—Nor would the Dooab Thugs if she had two lakhs upon her.

Gopaul.—We have never been guilty of so great a crime in the Dooab or any part east of the Ganges and Jumna where I have been employed?

Q.—But you Bundelcund men murdered abundance.

Zolfukar.—Yes, and was not the greater part of Feringeea's and my gang seized after we had murdered the two women and little girl at Manora in 1830 near Saugor? And were we not ourselves both seized soon after? How could we survive things like that: our ancestors never did such things.

Feringeea.—We had no sooner buried their bodies than I heard the *chireya,* and on leaving the ground we saw the *loharburheya:* these were signs that *Davey* was displeased, and we gave ourselves up for lost.

Q.—But some of the Dooab Thugs have murdered women in your expeditions on this side of the Jumna?

Davey deen.—That was while they were in company with the Bundelcund and Saugor men.

Gopaul.—On the other side of the Jumna and Ganges we never have done so.

Bhikka.—How could we do so? we do not even murder a person that has a cow with him.

Q.—Had not the fourteen persons murdered at Kotree a cow with them, and were there not women in the party, and all killed ?

Chotee.—We were almost all Gwalior and Bundelcund and Saugor men in that gang, but we persuaded the party to sell us the cow at Shahpore ; and we gave it to a Brahman at that place, and two or three days after they were all strangled at Kotree in Huttah. I pointed out the grave to Captain Crawford, and he took up the bodies.

Q.—And you could not have strangled them if they had not parted with the cow ?

Chotee.—Certainly not ; nor could we have made them part with her had we not pretended that we had vowed to make such an offering at Shahpore, and were very much in want of her.

Zolfukar.—Durgha and Feringeea have been confounding cases ; I have heard of the Kalee Bebee it is true, but I was not at her murder ; and yet I was at the taking of the sheets intended for the Nowab's tomb. Peer Mahommud was there, so also was Kadir, then a boy ; and I have heard that he has still in his family one of the slips that fell to the share of his adopted father, the great Dhurum Khan.

Feringeea.—But was not my father Purusram in that affair ?

Zolfukar.—He was, and so was Ghasee Subahdar, but no Kalee Bebee was killed in that affair. There were only three persons, and they were men. We got two sheets, one green and the other red.

Kadir.—I was a little boy and that was my first expedition, and I was mounted upon a pony. The piece of the chader we gave to a priest, and it was taken and lodged in the Saugor Malkhana, and afterwards put up to auction I believe.

Zolfukar.—The two chaders were sent by Nowab Salabut Khan, the Elichpore Nowab, for the tomb of his brother Buhlole Khan, who had died at Hyderabad. Lalmun Musulman, and Khandee and his brother Nundun Brahmans, must know all about the Kalee Bebee; they are very old men.

Khandee and *Nundun,* brothers and Brahmans, one 83 and the other 85 years of age, being sent for, deny having been present at the murder, but say they knew of it, and of the dire effects of it to the Thug fraternity.

Lalmun.—Being sent for, age 90. I remember the murder of the Kalee Bebee well; I was at the time on an expedition to Barodah, and not present, but Punna must have been there. A dispute arose between the Musulmans and the Hindoos before and after the murder. The Musulmans insisted upon killing her, as she had four thousand rupees worth of property with her: the Hindoos would not agree. She was killed, and the Hindoos refused to take any part of the booty: they came to blows, but at last the Hindoos gave in, and consented to share in all but the clothes and ornaments which the women wore. Feringeea's father, Purusram Brahman, was there; so was Ghasee Subahdar, a Rajpoot; so was Himmut Brahman. When they came home to Murnae, Rae Sing, Purusram's brother, refused to eat, drink or smoke with his brother till he had purged himself from this great sin; and he, Himmut, and Ghasee gave a feast that cost them a thousand rupees each. Four or five thousand Brahmans were assembled at that feast. Had it rested here, we should have thrived; but in the affair of the sixty, women were again murdered; in the affair of the forty, several women were murdered; the Musulmans were too strong for the Hindoos; and from that time we may trace our decline.

Q.—But you are a Musulman?

Lalmun.—True: but our family had been settled for two generations with that of Rae Sing and Purusram at Murnae: and had adopted their notions on all points of Thuggee. We had been first initiated by them, our family not being of the Delhi clans—(see Table 7). Busuntee must have been present at the Kalee Bebee's murder.

Busuntee.—No; but my brother Punna was.

Punna—Being sent for, states—I was present. She was coming from Hyderabad, and was carried in a dooly, and had twelve followers. She had four thousand rupees worth of property. The Musulmans insisted upon killing her; the Hindoos opposed. She was killed with all her followers, and the Hindoos, after a desperate quarrel, consented to share in all but her clothes and ornaments. Madaree, who died last year in the Saugor Jail, was the man who strangled her. On going home Purusram, Ghasee, and Himmut were obliged to give a feast, and deprecate the wrath of *Davey* by a great deal of Poojah. Five thousand Brahmans assembled at that feast, and all was well; but the Sutrooh followed, and after that the Chaleesrooh. In both these affairs the Hindoos consented to share, but they were sadly punished. Himmut, after the Surgooja affair, got worms in his body, and died barking like a dog. Kosul died a miserable death at Nodha. One of his sons has been transported from Saugor, and the other died in the jail. His family is extinct. Look at Purusram's family; all gone! (No. 1.) And Ghasee Subahdar's also!

Q.—Did not the Hindoos assist in strangling the women in the Sutrooh (60) and Chaleesrooh (40) affairs?

Punna.—God forbid. They sinned enough in consenting to share in the booty, but they never assisted in the murder.

Q.—How did Feringeea get his name?

Lalmun.—General Perron could not make his uncle Rae Sing pay eighteen thousand rupees arrears due on account of his farm of the customs, and sent a Regiment under Blake Sahib to seize him. The village was assaulted and burnt; and in her flight Purusram's wife gave birth to Feringeea, and he got his name from that event—Feringeea, from the attack of the Feringies.

Q.—And you think that much of your misfortunes have arisen from the murder of women?

Lalmun.—We all knew that they would come upon us some day for this and other great sins. We were often admonished but we did not take warning, and we deserve our fates.

Q.—What—for committing murder?

Lalmun.—No, but for murdering women, and those classes of people whom our ancestors never murdered.

Q.—They tell me that you were the best *Belha* (chooser of the place for murder) in your day. Was it so?

Lalmun.—I was thought a good one in my day, but I am now very old, and blind. I was a man when even Khandee and Nunden were children!

Dorgha.—I got a bay pony from the Kalee Bebee's affair. My brother Punga, who died lately in the Saugor jail, and my father Khyroo, were there.

Q.—Are you never afraid of the spirits of the persons you murder?

Nasir.—Never; they cannot trouble us.

Q.—Why? Do they not trouble other men when they commit murder?

Nasir.—Of course they do. The man who commits a murder is always haunted by spirits. He has sometimes fifty at a time upon him, and they drive him mad.

Q.—And how do they not trouble you?

Nasir.—Are not the people we kill killed by the orders of *Davey?*

Kuleean.—Yes, it is by the blessing of *Davey* that we escape that evil.

Dorgha.—Do not all whom we kill go to Paradise, and why should their spirits stay to trouble us?

Inaent.—A good deal of our security from spirits is to be attributed to the roomal with which we strangle.

Q.—I did not know that there was any virtue in the roomal.

Inaent.—Is it not our sikka, (ensign) as the pickaxe is our nishan (standard).

Feringeea.—More is attributable to the pickaxe. Do we not worship it every seventh day? Is it not our standard? Is its sound ever heard when digging the grave by any but a Thug? And can any man even swear to a falsehood upon it?

Q.—And no other instrument would answer, you think, for making the graves?

Nasir.—How could we dig graves with any other instruments. This is the one appointed by *Davey*, and consecrated, and we should never have survived the attempt to use any other.

Feringeea.—No man but a Thug who has been a strangler, and is remarkable for his cleanliness and decorum is permitted to carry it.

Q.—And there is no instance of a Thug being troubled by a spirit?

All.—None. No Thug was ever so troubled.

Q.—What became of Khimmolee to whom Newul Sing and his daughters were so much attached?

Kuleean.—He died in the Jubulpore jail.

Q.—What became of Ghubboo Khan who strangled the Moonshee's wife?

Chutter.—He also died in the Jubulpore jail.

Q.—What became of Noor Khan and his son Sadee?

Chutter.—Noor Khan died in the Huttah jail, and his son Sadee was lately transported from Jubulpore.

Q.—Where you not once arrested with a large gang at Kotah?

Feringeea.—Yes; we had murdered four men with bundles of clothes at Kunwas, going from Ashta to Kotah; and four days after we killed the nephew of Jeswunt Raw Lar, and his four servants, whose bodies were taken up last year. Twenty-eight of the gang were arrested; but the next day they had their faces blackened, and were released. I had fled, leaving my clothes behind, and after the release of the gang they discovered in my clothes the hilt of the young chief's sword, with his name written under it, and some of the cloth. In trying to overtake us they fell in with Bhimmee and Hurnagur and their gangs, and arrested forty, who were confined for four years, and released the year that the Lucknadown gang was arrested by Mr. Molony,* (1823.)

Q.—Where did you go?

Feringeea.—Ashraf Khan, Subahdar Major of Colonel Ridge's Regiment of Cavalry (4th Cavalry), was at Kotah, on his way home sick, the day we were released, and we followed him up and killed him and all his party.

Q.—Had he not been wounded and become an improper person to be killed?

Feringeea.—I did not go near enough to him to see. He was sick and carried in his palankeen; and my party

* This is a mistake of *Feringeea's*—it was the year that the gang of Beg Khan was arrested by Major Wardlow—committed by Mr. Fraser, and tried by Mr. Wilder, 1826.—See Appendix K.

having been arrested and had their faces blackened, we could not take any part in the murder. We got a share of the booty however.

Q.—And why did they release Hurnagur and his party?

Feringeea.—They thought it too expensive to feed them every day.

Q.—What is commonly the proportion of Musulmans to Hindoos?

Feringeea.—In Oude nine-tenths are Musulmans. In the Dooab four-fifths were Hindoos. South of the Nurbudda three-fourths Musulmans. In Bundlecund and Saugor one-half were Musulmans. In Rajpootana one-fourth Musulmans. In Bengal, Behar, and Orissa about half and half. This is a rough guess, since we have no rule to prescribe or ascertain them.

Q.—Are the usages of the River Thugs the same as yours?

Moradun.—In worship the same. They strangle in boats and throw the bodies into the river. If they see blood, they must go back and open the expedition anew. They give the *Jhirnee* by first striking on the deck of the boat three times, when the man appointed to give it sees all clear.

Q.—Have the River Thugs the same Ramasee (dialect) as you?

Imam Buksh, of Rustur in Ghazeepoor.—No, totally different. They neither understand our Ramasee nor do we theirs. They call a strangler Charud, and a Beetoo, or traveller Khan, meaning their food; as we call him our Bunij, or merchandise. When they give their *Jhirnee* they say "*pawn law*," bring paun.

Q.—Where do the River Thugs reside chiefly?

Imam Buksh.—They formerly, as I have heard my father and other old men say, constituted the exclusive

population of some villages, till a Gurdee (inroad) was made upon them, and their villages were pulled down about their ears.

Q.—What was the cause of this ?

Imam Buksh.—They never kill women, and there was a party of five travellers, four men and one women, who wanted to pass across the river with them at Rajmahul. They contrived to leave the woman behind, and this led to the discovery of the murder of the men. From that time they have been scattered over the district of Burdwan, and now they live in villages occupied by other people—four or five families of them in a village.

They go in considerable parties, and have generally several boats at the ghat at the same time. The ghats most frequented by them are those of Kohelgaum, Rajmahul, Moremukaea, an invalid station, and Monghyr ; but they go on so far as Cawnpore, and even Furruckabad. Their murders are always perpetrated in the day time. Those who do the work of the boatmen are dressed like other boat men ; but those who are to take a part in the operations, are dressed like travellers of great respectability ; and there are no boats on the river kept so clean, and inviting for travellers. When going up the river they always pretend to be men of some consideration going on pilgrimage to some sacred place, as Banares, Allahabad, &c. When going down they pretend to be returning home from such places. They send out their Sothas, or inveiglers, well dressed upon the high roads, who pretend to be going by water to the same places as the travellers they fall in with. On coming to the ghat they see these nice looking boats with the respectably dressed Thugs amusing themselves. They ask the Manjee (captain) of the boat to take them and the travellers on board, as he can afford to do so cheaper than others, having apparently

his boat already engaged by others. He pretends to be pushed for room, and the Thugs pretend to be unwilling to have any more passengers on board. At last he yields to the earnest requests of their inveiglers, and the travellers are taken up. They go off into the middle of the river, those above singing and playing and making a great noise, while the travellers are murdered inside at the signal given by three taps, that all is clear, and their bodies are thrown into the river. The boat then goes on to some other ghat, having landed their inveiglers again upon the roads.

Q.—How many of these river Thugs do you suppose there are?

Imam Buksh.—I have never served with them but once, and cannot say; perhaps from two hundred to two hundred and fifty.

Q.—Have you ever served with the Motheeas?

Imam Buksh.—I have. They are from a class of weavers or Tantooas; their Ramasee or dialect is the same as ours; they are called Motheeas by their associate Thugs, but by other people they are known only as Tantooas. I have however seen very little of them; others here know more than I do about them; ask Bukhtawur.

Q.—Have you seen the Lodahas?

Imam Buksh.—Yes; they are descended from the same common stock as ourselves, and are Jumaldehees, and Musulmans. Their dialect and usages are all the same as ours, but they rarely make Thugs of any men but the members of their own families. They marry into other families who do not know them to be Thugs, but their wives never know their secrets, and can therefore never divulge them. No prospect of booty could ever induce them, or any of the Bengal or Behar Thugs to kill a woman.

Q.—Where do they chiefly reside?

Imam Buksh.—They occupy some villages north east of Durbunga on the Nepaul frontier. They emigrated from Oude when annoyed on some occasion some generations ago; part of the emigrants remained in the Goruckpore district, and have spread to that of Chupra. They have every where followed the same trade of Thuggee; and, as in other parts, all under the auspices of *Davey*. It was about five generations ago that this emigration from Oude took place. The Lodahas extend their expeditions from the city of Patna along all the roads leading through Dinajpore, Rungpore, Titaleea, Durbhunga, Poruneea, Dibeea, Nathpore, and up to the banks of the Burhampootre, but I never served with them during more than one expedition. Bukhtawur knows more about them than I do. They cannot speak the language of the western provinces, and in consequence never go west of the city of Patna.

Q.—What castes are you forbidden to kill?

Imam Buksh.—We never kill any of the following classes:

Dhobies or Washermen.

Bharts or Bards.

Siks are never killed in Bengal.

Nanuksahees.

Mudaree Fukeers.

Dancing men or boys.

Musicians by profession.

Bhungies or sweepers.

Teylies, oil venders.

Lohars and *Burheys*, Blacksmiths and carpenters, when found together.

Maimed and leprous persons.

A man with a cow.

Burhumcharies.

Kawrutties, or Ganges water carriers, while they have the Ganges water actually with them. If their pots be empty, they are not exempted.

Buktawur being sent for—

Q.—You are said to have occasionally gone with the River Thugs; what do you call them?

Bukhtawur.—We call them *Pungoos.* On one occasion only have I ever served with them.

Q.—What was the said occasion?

Bukhtawur.—About fourteen years ago I had been on an expedition from Chupra to Moorshedabad. We were twenty two Thugs, under Sewbuns Jemadar, who was a Rajpoot. Two of our gang, Khoda Buksh and Alee Yar, had often served with the river Thugs, and used to interest us by talking about their modes of proceeding. On the other side of Rajmahul we fell in with two of these Thugs. They had two bundles of clothes, and pretended to be going on a pilgrimage and had with them five travellers, whom they had picked up on the road. Sewbuns recognized them immediately, and Alee Yar and Khoda Buksh found in them old acquaintances. They got into conversation with them, and it was agreed that Sewbux, I, and Dhorda Kormee should go with them, and see how they did their work, while the rest of the gang went on along the bank of the river. We embarked at Rajmahul. The travellers sat on one side of the boat and the Thugs on the other, while we were all three placed in the stern, the Thugs on our left and the travellers on our right. Some of the Thugs dressed as boatmen were above deck, and others walking along the bank of the river, and pulling the boat by the goon, or rope; and all at the same time on the look out. We came up with a gentleman's pinnace and two baggage

boats, and were obliged to stop and let them get on. The travellers seemed anxious, and were quieted by being told that the men at the rope were tired, and must take some refreshment. They pulled out something and began to eat; and when the pinnace had got on a good way they resumed their work, and our boat proceeded. It was now afternoon, and when a signal was given above that all was clear, the five Thugs who sat opposite the travellers, sprung in upon them and with the aid of others strangled them. They put the roomal round the neck from the front, while all other Thugs put it round from behind; they thus push them back, while we push them forward. Having strangled the five men, they broke their spinal bones, and pounded their private parts; and then threw them out of a hole made at the side into the river; and kept on their course, the boat being all this time pulled along by the men on the bank.

The booty amounted to about two hundred rupees. We claimed and got a share for all our party; and Sewbuns declared that we were twenty-nine, while we were really only twenty-three, and got a share for that number; he cheated them out of the share of six men.

We landed that night and rejoined our gang, and operated upon the roads leading along the river Ganges till we got to the Mormukaeea ghat where there is an invalid station—about four cose the other side of Bar. Here we fell in with the same party of *Pungoos*, or river Thugs, who had three travellers with them. I did not join them this time, but Sewbuns with two other members of our gang went on board, and saw them strangled. What share he got I do not know.

Q.—Where do they reside?

Bukhtawur.—They reside about Beerbhoom, Bancoora, Kulna-Kutooa, Sewree and other places in the district of

Burdwan, which is a very large district. Kulna and Katooa are two distinct towns on the Bhageeruttee river, half way from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, though we always join their names together in speaking of the place. Thugs do not live in these or any other towns, as they are there always liable to be a good deal annoyed by police questions, but in small villages around about them.

Q.—What do you call police questions?

Bukhtawur.—Questions about who's come—who's gone—who's born—who's died—what's your occupation—whence your income, and so forth. These questions annoy Thugs a good deal, and oblige them to share their incomes with the police men as well as with the Zumeendars.

Q.—What's your age?

Bukhtawur.—Between sixty and seventy.

Q.—Was your father a Thug?

Bukhtawur.—No—I am the first of my family, but Imam Buksh is an hereditary Jumaldehee Thug. I was taught the trade by Manickrae Rajpoot, a Jemadar of Thugs. Both he and his son Kishun are now dead. Manickrae had lived with several families of Thugs in the village of Seesooa in Beteea, but a native collector came and gave them a good deal of annoyance, and they went to a small village near Julloo, ten cose this side of Junuckpore. I live in Pherirdaha—from Goruckpore sixteen cose east—from the great Gunduk river nine cose west, and from the little Gunduk one cose east.

Q.—Does not the Rajah of Beteea encourage the residence of Thugs?

Bukhtawur.—Not now: he is afraid, and tries all he can to find them out and expel them; but he has got the most expert thieves in India; they will steal the bullocks from your plough without your perceiving them.

Q.—Have you ever served with the Lod[illegible]

Bukhtawur.—Yes—I have often served with Jh[illegible] Khan Jemadar. He lives thirty cose from Durbhunga [illegible] the frontier, and has thirty good Thugs. He is ostensibly a mere cultivator. He is called Jhoulee Khan the fair. There is also the black Jhoulee Khan, who has fifteen good Thugs, and holds a village in farm as a Zumeendar, though he is not so great a man as the other. Their followers are all hereditary and well trained Thugs. Jhubbun Khan, another leader of great note, lives near them. They reside in five or six villages within a few cose of each other, and are about fifty families of Thugs, most of them Musulmans, but there are some Rajpoots and some Tantooas, or weavers. These fifty families have perhaps from two hundred to two hundred and fifty Thugs.

Q.—Are your gangs never arrested in that quarter?

Bukhtawur.—Sometimes; about ten years ago a gang of seventeen were arrested near Durbhunga; four were hung, and twelve transported.

Q.—How was that managed?

Bukhtawur.—Gobind Rawut, son of Peearee Rawut, and Gheena Khan Jemadars, and a gang of fifteen Thugs had strangled and buried four travellers. Syfoo and Gheena Khan had married two sisters, and Syfoo gave himself airs, and demanded a coral necklace that was taken from one of the travellers. Gheena refused to give it; a quarrel ensued, and Syfoo, in a passion, went to the Thanadar at Durbhunga, brought him and his guard down upon them at night, and seized the whole gang. But Syfoo had not seen the grave, and he made the Thanadar tie up his cousin, Peerbuksh, a boy, throw him down, draw his sword, and pretend to be about to cut his throat. The boy got alarmed, confessed, and pointed out the grave. The bodies were taken up, the prisoners sent to

Mozuffurpore, and the four men who strangled them were hung; twelve, including the two leaders, were sent to the black water. Syfoo was released, but died on his way home. How we could never discover.

Q.—Did he die because he disclosed?

Bukhtawur.—No doubt.

Q.—That is, some of his old associates killed him?

Bukhtawur.—No; had he been killed by them we should have discovered it. In those days a man who peached was either killed by his old associates, or by *Davey*. They were only rare and solitary instances; now we do not fear, as we are many and become servants of Government. Syfoo must have perished for his treachery, but he was not killed by any of us.

Q.—Where were the four men murdered?

Bukhtawur.—About half a cose east of the Kolesuree river, a sacred stream, about two cose east from Durbunga.

Q.—What year was it in?

Bukhtawur.—I dont know; about ten years ago.

Moradun of Arah.—It must have been after the siege of Bhurtpore, for I saw Gheena Khan that year on an expedition. He resided near Jugtowlee in Chupra, not far from Bukhtawur's village of Phurindha.

Conversation resumed with the Duckun and Hindostanee Thugs.

Q.—If *Davey's* displeasure visits all who punish Thugs, how is it that you all escape so well?

Moradun.—*Davey's* anger visited us when we *were seized*. That was the effect of her resentment; she cast us off then and takes no notice of us now.

Q.—And if you were to return to Thuggee, she would still guide and protect you?

Moradun.—Yes, but what gang would now receive us?

Q.—And you are not afraid to assist in suppressing Thuggee?

Moradun.—No; we see God is assisting you, and that *Davey* has withdrawn her protection on account of our transgressions. We have sadly neglected her worship. God knows in what it will all end.

Q.—True, God only knows; but we hope it will end in the entire suppression of this wicked and foolish system; and in the conviction on your part that *Davey* has really had nothing to do with it.

Nasir.—That *Davey* instituted Thuggee, and supported it as long as we attended to her omens, and observed the rules framed by the wisdom of our ancestors, nothing in the world can ever make us doubt.

Q.—Do the five divisions you mention in the Duckun comprise, geographically, all the country south of the Nurbudda river?

Sahib Khan.—No, there is a sixth, Khandiesh; but we know of no Thugs in that country; and a seventh, the Concan along the Malabar coast; we know of no Thugs in that country either.

Q.—Are there no Thugs in these two Districts think you?

Sahib.—There may be some, but we do not know of any.

Feringeea.—Our gangs from Hindostan used often to go through Khandiesh in our expeditions, but we never heard of any Thugs who resided there: many may have emigrated into that quarter from others since this pursuit began?

Q.—You got some valuable prizes in Khandiesh latterly?

Chotee.—There was the Choupura case on the Taptee river, in which we got 25,000 rupees in 1826.

The Dholeea and Malagaum case in which we got twenty-two thousand rupees worth of gold in 1827. The Dhorecote case in which we got twelve thousand rupees in 1828, and the Dhoree case in 1829, in which they got seventy-two thousand rupees worth of pearls, and ten thousand rupees worth of gold, though they could not keep it all. These were our prizes in Khandiesh.

Q.—You were not in the Dhoree case?

Chotee.—No, but I was in all the others. I was in arrest with Dhun Raj Seth's Agent at Alumpore, trying to recover some of the Spanish dollars taken from him at Burwaha ghat, when that occurred; but I sent part of my gang that year with Feringeea's, and they fell in with the Dhoree case men as they were coming back with the pearls.

Feringeea.—Yes; some of Chotee's men were with me in the Ranjuna case, which took place in March, 1829; and we soon after fell in with some of our friends coming home with their pearls from the Dhoree case.

Q.—But the Dhoree case and Burwaha ghat case must have taken place within a few days of each other in February, 1829. the Dhoree case took place on the 6th and the Burwaha ghat case, on the 1st of that month. We have the records of the dates from Indore?

Chotee.—Your records must be wrong. The Dhorecote case, in which I was present, occurred fifteen days after the Burwaha ghat case, for I was taken up on the suspicion of being present in the Burwaha ghat case, and it was the year after that the pearls were taken at Dhoree.

Feringeea.—Yes; Chotee was with Dhun Raj Seth's man Bearee Lal when we went on the Ranjuna expedition and met the pearls.

Moklal.—He was arrested soon after our party got the Spanish dollars at Burwaha ghat, which was fifteen days before his party took the gold at Dhorecote.

Q.—How many Spanish dollars did you get?

Moklal.—We got forty thousand rupees worth, but a great part had been beaten up.

Feringeea.—But none of us got so fine a prize as Bowanee the Sooseea and his gang of Rajpootana got in Kandeish. They carried off clear in one affair above two lakhs of rupees worth of property coming from Bombay to Indore.

Q.—How did you manage the Burwaha ghat affair?

Moklal.—It gave us a great deal of trouble, as the dollars were laden on Camels. They went fast, and, afraid to appear near to them in a body, we several times lost all trace of them. We first fell in with them at Borhanpore. Ours was only one of three great parties that went from Bundlecund, Gwalior and Saugor, that year to Kandeish; and it consisted of about one hundred and sixty Thugs, concentrating upon the treasure party. At Burwaha ghat, on the Nurbudda river, we found them disputing with the Custom-house officers about the payment of duties; and stating the hardship of being obliged to expose the value of their charge in an unsettled country. We paid duties for ourselves and our six ponies; and, leaving a few scouts, passed over the river, and went on to the small deserted village of Naen, in the midst of a jungly waste. Here we waited till the treasure party came up, consisting of eight men, mounted on Camels and armed with matchlocks, and a merchant, by name Futteh Alee, who had joined them on the road in the hope of being more secure in their company than alone. It was about nine o'clock in the morning when they reached the place. The signal was given, we rushed in upon the Camels, seized them by their bridles, and made them sit down by beating them with sticks. The men were seized and killed; some strangled, some stabbed

with spears, and some cut down with swords. Futteh Alee was pulled off his pony and strangled. We transferred the treasure to our ponies; threw the bodies into a ravine, and went on for three days without halting any where, as we knew we should be immediately pursued. After we had got beyond danger we rested and divided the booty, setting aside the proper share for the temple of *Davey* at Bindachul, near Mirzapore.*

Dhun Raj Seth sent his agent, Bearee Lall, to the Resident at Indore, and the Agent of the Governor General in Bundelcund to recover his dollars. He got a good many of the principal Thug leaders arrested; they were sent by the Agent in Bundelcund to the Resident at Indore, who sent them back to the Agent, who made them over to the native chiefs, in whose jurisdiction they resided, with orders to make good the money. These chiefs told us to make good three-fourths of the money taken at Burwaha ghat by a general contribution. We agreed to do so and were let go; some paid out of the fruits of former expeditions, others borrowed in anticipation of future success; and those who had neither money nor credit pledged themselves to pay part of their future earnings. To this Bearee Lal agreed, and sent them on expeditions, retaining Chotee, Bukut and other Jemadars of great influence about his person. He got a good deal of money by procuring the release of all the noted Thugs then in confinement at different places. He got nine thousand rupees for the release of Dhurum Khan Jemadar from Gwalior, on the pretence that he was engaged in the affair when he had been in prison long before. He had got a great prize of jewels from some men killed near Kotah, and his family could afford

* Appendix D.

to pay. Such was Dhun Raj Seth's influence that he could get a gang released from prison in any part of India; and for some time his agent Bearee Lal had always half a dozen of the principal Thug leaders about his person, and used to attend all our marriages and festivals. What his master got, we know not, but he got a great deal of our money.

Q.—What became of him after our operations began?

Moklal.—He ran off to his master at Omrowtee; we returned to our homes, and got all arrested.

Q.—Are there any Thugs in Guzerat?

Moklal.—We think not. We have often gone through Guzerat in our expeditions of late years; particularly since your operations commenced, and have penetrated beyond Joonagur up to the shores of the ocean, but have never become acquainted with any Thug residing in Guzerat. There are numbers in Rapjootana. The Thugs of Deogur Mudara are to Oudeepore, what the Sindouse and Murnae men were to Etawa and Gwalior. In Joudhpore there are ten villages occupied by Thugs; and they are scattered all over Jypore, and are still very numerous about Ojeyn and Pertabgur in western Malwa.

Q.—But you think that a number of the members of your old gangs who have escaped us may go and settle in Guzerat and Kandeish?

Moklal.—Certainly, some of them will. Is not Rambuksh for whom you offered five hundred rupees reward gone to that quarter?

Q.—And they will raise new gangs there you think?

Moklal.—Certainly, if left undisturbed for a time.

Q.—Who were the leaders in the Burwaha ghat affair?

Moklal.—Roshun, who was hung at Saugor, 1832.

Dhurun Khan the stutterer, hung at Saugor, 1832.

Maharaj Partuk, who drowned himself at Saugor, 1832.

Persaud, hung at Saugor, 1832.

Lal Mahommud, approver.

Bukhtawur, who died at home.

Bukut, the son of old Khandee approver, who is still at large, and a Jemadar,

Q.—How did you manage the Dholeea and Malagow affair?

Feringeea.—Our gangs concentrated at the village of Jokur, between Dholeea and Malagow, in Kandeish, amounting to two hundred and fifty Thugs, under myself.

Makun, who was hung at Indore, 1829.

Gunga Deen, who was hung at Indore, 1829.

Chotee, approver.

Maharaj Partuk, drowned himself at Saugor.

Sheikh Nungoo, dead.

Persaud, hung at Saugor 1832, and others.

We left Jokeer for Malagow with two travellers, whom we had killed before daylight and were resting at a well two cose north of Malagow, when we heard after sunrise, the *Chim mama* on the right. I proposed, according to all the recognized rules of augury, to go back to Jokur immediately. To this proposal they would not consent, and we went on to Malagow, where I proposed that we should halt and avert the threatened evil by a sacrifice. This was overruled by a party who supposed that it might be as well averted by quitting the high road to Kopurgow, and diverging to the right upon that of Chandore. I went on with them four cose to a village, whose name I forget, but at night determined to obey the omen, and came back with my gang of twenty-five Thugs to Malagow, where I found a gang of one hundred Thugs under the following leaders :

Omrow, hung at Indore, 1829.

Bhimmee, approver.

Buduloo, hung at Saugor, 1832.

Bukut, approver,
Kunhey Aheer, killed in Joudpore, 1833.
Hinder Benguna, approver.

They had with them four treasure bearers from Poona on their way from Indore, whom they intended to kill on the way to Dholeea. I joined them and we went on to the village of Jokur, and were joined on the way by three other travellers, whom we could not shake off. Hinder Benguna's son Chiddee had quarrelled with his father, and gone off to join Chotee's party on the Chandore road with Gurhoo, who went to see two of his brothers who were with them; and they having let out the secret of the treasure bearers, Chotee came off as fast as he could with Maharaj and a party of forty, and joined us during the night at Jokur.

Omrow's party was composed chiefly of Kuboolas, fellows of all casts, whom he had scraped together to make up a gang for this expedition, and we insisted upon his sending thirty of the rawest of them in advance from Jokur in the afternoon. There were at least two hundred men that night at Jokur on their way back from Hindostan to their Regiments; but we watched the treasure bearers closely, and when they set out, we followed; and at a bowlee, a mile or two on, we closed in upon them and put them to death. We had not been able to shake off the other three travellers, and were in consequence obliged to put them to death also, some of the bodies were thrown into the bowlee, and the others were slightly buried in a field close by.*

Chotee claimed a share for that part of their gangs which had gone on to Chandore, as well as for that which had come with him; and Omrow claimed an equal share for

* See Appendix E.

all the thirty Kuboolas whom he had consented to send on in advance, that they might not by their blunders frustrate our designs upon the treasure bearers. After a good deal of dispute it was settled that those who were actually present, should all share alike without distinction of rank or office ; and that those who belonged to absent parties might share what they got with them or not as they pleased. According to this arrangement each man got of gold one hundred and twenty-five rupees worth. Omrow's seventy men afterwards shared with the thirty Kuboolas ; and Chotee's party went and shared what they got with the men at Chandore.

Q.—And you think the *Chimmama* was sent to you by *Davey* to induce you all to stay and share in this booty ?

Feringeea.—Undoubtedly ; every one now admits it, but at the time they were all mad !

Q.—Why did they not diverge immediately from the Malagow road ?

Feringeea.—It is all a horrid jungle, and there is no road right or left till you get to Malagow. We had intended to go the straight road to Kopurgow through Malagow.

Q.—Who were the three travellers that joined you ?

Feringeea.—Two were weavers, and one a dawk hurcara.

Q.—How was the Dhoree affair managed ?

Feringeea.—We were a gang of about one hundred and fifty Thugs from Hindostan—in the month of January, 1829 near Chopra, on the bank of the Taptee river, under Khoseeala, alias Rymoo, executed afterwards at Dholeea in Kandeish, Bhujjoo, executed at Saugor 1832, and Persaud Musulman, executed at Indore 1829, when the seven treasure bearers came up on their way from Bombay to Indore. We followed them with a select party

from all the gangs on to Dhoree, and thence through the Dholeebaree pass, where they spoke with Dusrut Naek, the officer of the police guard, stationed at that pass. While they rested here, one of the seven, without our scouts perceiving it, went on in advance towards Godurghat, which is about four cose distant. When they had left the guard we continued to follow, and on passing the guard we were questioned by Dusrut Naek, and we told him that we were Government servants on our way home on furlough. About half way between this pass and Godurghat we came up with the treasure bearers, and strangled them; but to our surprise we found only six instead of seven. Heera and three others were instantly sent on after the other but they could not find him, and we hastily threw the bodies into a nalah and made off with the booty.

The man who had gone on in advance, finding that his companions did not come up so soon as he expected, returned to look after them, and met a traveller who told him that he had seen some dead bodies in a nalah by the side of the road; going to the place described he found that they were the bodies of his companions, and reported the circumstance to Dusrut Naek, who sent information to Captain Hodges, the acting Magistrate in Kandeish, and set out with all his men in pursuit of us. Captain Hodges with his mounted police, succeeded in seizing thirteen or fourteen of our party who had separated and lost their road in the jungles. They had with them the greater part of the booty, which we in consequence lost. Of these men four contrived to get released, and the rest were either hung at Dholeea or sent to the black water. Only three of the bags of pearls were brought off, one by Purumna, who honestly shared it on his return with the rest of the gang who escaped; and two by Bhujjoo, alias

Sooper Sing and Rae Sing, who were lately hung at Saugor, and who could never be prevailed upon to give up any share.*

Q.—When you have a poor traveller with you, or a party of travellers who appear to have little property about them, and you hear or see a very good omen, do you not let them go, in the hope that the virtue of the omen will guide you to better prey?

Dorgha, Musulman.—Let them go—never, never—*kubhee nuheen, kubhee nuheen.*

Nasir, Musulman, of Telingana.—How could we let them go? Is not the good omen the order from Heaven to kill them, and would it not be disobedience to let them go? If we did not kill them, should we ever get any more travellers?

Feringeea, Brahmun.—I have known the experiment tried with good effect—I have known travellers who promised little let go, and the virtue of the omen brought better.

Inaent, Musulman.—Yes, the virtue of the omen remains, and the traveller who has little should be let go, for you are sure to get a better.

Sahib Khan, of Telingana.—Never! never! This is one of your Hindostanee heresies. You could never let him go without losing all the fruits of your expedition. You might get property, but it could never do you any good. No success could result from your disobedience.

Morlee, Rajpoot.—Certainly not! the travellers who are in our hands when we have a good omen must never be let go, whether they promise little or much; the omen is unquestionably the order, as Nasir says.

* See Appendix F.

Nasir.—The idea of securing the good will of *Davey* by disobeying her order is quite monstrous. We Duckun Thugs do not understand how you got hold of it. Our ancestors were never guilty of such folly.

Feringeea.—You do not mean to say that we of Murnae and Sindouse were not as well instructed as you of Telingana?

Nasir and *Sahib Khan*.—We only mean to say that you have clearly mistaken the nature of a good omen in this case. It is the order of *Davey* to take what she has put in our way: at least so we, in the Duckun, understand it.

Q.—How did you manage the Shikarpore affair?

Inaent.—Our gang consisted of one hundred and twenty-five Thugs under—

Noor Khan, hung this year at Jubulpore.
Bhudae, lately arrested at Kotah.
Gholab Khan, hung at Saugor 1832.
Hyput, approver.

Other Jemadars and myself were encamped in the grove near the town of Sehora in this, the Jubulpore district, in March, 1816, when the Resident of Nagpore passed on his way from Nagpore to Bundelcund.* We had heard of his approach with a large escort and determined to join his party in the hope of picking up some travellers, as in the time of the Pindaries, travellers of respectability generally took advantage of such opportunities to travel with greater security. Our gang separated into small parties, who mixed themselves up with the Resident's parties at different places along the road, without appearing to know any thing of each other; and

* This was Major Close on his way from Poona to Gwalior to take charge of his office as Resident in 1816—See Appendix G.

pretended to be like others glad of the occasion to travel securely. When the Resident reached Belehree some of our parties stated, that, as the Resident was going the western road by Rewah, they had better go the northern by Powae, as there was no longer any danger from Pindaries, and, by separating from so large an escort, they should get provisions much cheaper; that water was now becoming scarce on the western road, and was always made dirty by the elephants and camels. Other parties pretended to argue against this, but at last to yield to the strong reasons assigned. We had by this time become very intimate with a party of travellers from Nagpore, consisting of eighteen men, seven women, and two boys. They heard our discussions, and declared in favor of the plan of separating from the Resident's party, and going the northern road through Shikarpore and Powae.

On reaching Shikarpore, three cose this side of Powae, we sent on Kunhey and Mutholee to select a place for the murder, and they chose one on the bank of the river in an extensive jungle that lay between us and Powae. We contrived to make the party move off about midnight persuading them that it was near morning; and on reaching the place appointed they were advised to sit down and rest themselves. All our parties pretended to be as much deceived as themselves with regard to the time; but not more than half of the travellers could be prevailed upon to sit down and rest in such a solitude. The signal was given, and all, except the two boys, were seized and strangled by the people who had been appointed for the purpose, and were now at their posts ready for action. The boys were taken by Jowahir and Kehree, who intended to adopt them as their sons; and the bodies of the twenty-five persons were all thrown

into a ditch, and covered over with earth and bushes. On seeing the bodies thrown into the ditch, Jowahir's boy began to cry bitterly; and finding it impossible to pacify him or to keep him quiet, Jowahir took him by the legs, dashed out his brains against a stone, and left him lying on the ground, while the rest were busily occupied in collecting the booty. Going on to Powae we purchased five rupees worth of sugar to celebrate this event; and without halting we went on to the village of Chounmooka in Punna. After resting till midnight we went on to Tigura, in Jytpore, where we ate the sugar, and then set out the same day for Huttah.

A fisherman going to the river to fish, soon after we had left the scene of the murders, found the body of the boy lying by the stone against which his head had been beaten; and he gave information to Thakur Burjore Sing of Powae, who proceeded to the place with some of his followers, and discovered all the other bodies lying in the ditch. He collected all the men he could, and following our traces which were still fresh, he came up with us as we were washing ourselves in a stream within the boundaries of the village of Tigura. We formed ourselves into a compact body, and retired upon the village of Tigura. The Thakur repeatedly charged in upon us, and seeing Hyput Jemadar pierced through the chest with a spear, and Bhugwan receive a sabre cut in the face, we dispersed and made for the village of Tigura in the best way we could. The villagers all came to our support, and defended us against the Thakur; but he had already secured Husun Khan, who afterwards died at home—Imam Buksh alias Kosula, who was hung in Kandeish in 1829—Shumshera who was hung at Saugor in 1832—and Bahadera who is now in service at Hingolee.

The Tigura people tempted by the promise of part of our booty protected us all that day and night; and in the morning escorted us to Simareea, where a promise of all the booty that we had left, secured us a safe retreat till the pursuit was over in spite of all that the Thakur could say or do.

The Thakur took all his prisoners to the Governor General's Agent, Mr. Wauchope, before whom Bahadera confessed, and stated all the circumstances as they occurred; but being afterwards told that it was the practice of the English to hang all who confessed, and to release all who denied, he soon denied stoutly all that he had said, and pretended to know nothing at all about the murders; and being made over to the Magistrate they were all released for want of evidence. Ram Buksh Tumbolee came from Nagpore to the Agent, Mr. Wauchope, in the hope of recovering his child, who was the boy that was killed by Jowahir.*

Q.—What became of Jowahir?

Inaent.—He was the Jowahir Kusbatee the Brahmun, who was hung at Saugor 1832. He had settled on the Nurbudda river.

Q.—What became of Kehree?

Inaent.—Kehree was the father of Sewa, approver, and he was hung at Jubulpore in 1831. He named the boy Gunesha, and kept him at home to look after his cattle. Kehree's widow is now here with her son Sewa; and I heard her some time ago lamenting the death of Gunesha, and performing funeral ceremonies. The boy was a Brahmun and died at Kehree's home.

Q.—Where is Bahadera?

Inaent.—The last time I saw him was about ten years ago when he was a Sipahee in the 1st Battalion of a Bri-

* This is all strictly true.—See Appendix G.

gade of five Battalions at Aurungabad. He had given up Thuggee, and never, that we know of, returned to it; but he was still our friend.

Q.—You told Mr. Johnstone the traveller, while he was at Saugor, that the operations of your trade were to be seen in the caves of Ellora?

Feringeea.—All! Every one of the operations is to be seen there: in one place you see men strangling: in another burying the bodies: in another carrying them off to the graves. There is not an operation in Thuggee that is not exhibited in the caves of Ellora.

Dorgha.—In those caves are to be seen the operations of every trade in the world.

Chotee.—Whenever we passed near, we used to go and see these caves. Every man will there find his trade described however secret he may think it; and they were all made in one night.

Q.—Does any person beside yourselves consider that any of these figures represent Thugs?

Feringeea.—No body else; but all Thugs know that they do. We never told any body else what we thought about them. Every body there can see the secret operations of his trade, but he does not tell others of them; and no other person can understand what they mean. They are the works of God. No human hands were employed upon them. That every body admits.

Q.—What particular operations are there described in figures?

Sahib Khan.—I have seen the Sotha (inveigler) sitting upon the same carpet with the traveller, and in close conversation with him, just as we are when we are worming out their secrets. In another place the strangler has got his roomal over his neck, and is strangling him

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES LIBRARY
ACC. No. 2B
6717
EGMORE, MADRAS-600 008

while another, the Chumochee, is holding him by the legs. These are the only two operations that I have seen described.

Nasir.—These I have also seen, and there is no mistaking them. The Chumochee has close hold of the legs, and is pulling at them *thus*, while the Bhurtote is tightening the roomal round his neck, *thus!*

Q.—Have you seen no others?

Feringeea.—I have seen these two, and also the Lughas carrying away the bodies to the grave, *in this manner*, and the sextons digging the grave with the sacred pickaxe: all is done just as if we had ourselves done it; nothing could be more exact.

Q.—And who do you think could have executed this work?

Feringeea.—It could not have been done by Thugs, because they would never have exposed the secrets of their trade; and no other human being could have done it. It must be the work of the Gods: human hands could never have performed it.

Q.—And supposing so, you go and worship it?

Sahib Khan.—No. We go to gratify curiosity, and not to worship: we look upon it as a Mausoleum, a collection of curious figures cut by some Demons, who knew the secrets of all mankind, and amused themselves here in describing them.

Hurnagur.—We Hindoos go for the same purpose. We never go to worship. We consider it as a Pantheon of unknown Gods.

Q.—Relate the circumstances of the Chaleesrook affair?

Kuleean Sing.—In the year that Mr. Jenkins went as Resident to Nagpore through Benares and Sumbulpore,

this affair took place. He had just encamped near the Seetabuldee hill when we passed through Nagpore. (February, 1807.)

Dooaha.—The roads from the Duckun across the Nurbuda, had become so unsafe from the Pindaries that all travellers from Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpore, going towards the Ganges, went by way of Surgooja and Sumbulpore; and several of our gangs that went from Bundelcund and the Dooab to that road came back with immense booty for several years. In the rains preceding this affair it was determined that all the gangs should take that direction; and we accordingly set out. There were more than forty Jemadars of note; among them Bukshee Jemadar, whose head Doctor Spry sent to England, and Ghasee Subahdar; and many others of equal note. We set out from our respective homes after the Dushera in October, (1806) passed through Mirzapore, in order to make our votive offerings at the temple of *Davey* at Bindachul, and rendezvoused at Ruttunpore in the Surgooja district, where we were assembled above six hundred Thugs. From Ruttunpore we went to Tukutpore, where we murdered a good many travellers who took up their quarters in our several places of encampment. All pretended to have been on furlough and to be returning from Hindostan to different armies in the Duckun, with some of our relations and friends as young recruits. On the third day a female of rank came up. Her husband had been an officer in the Nagpore service, and being left a widow by his death at Nagpore, she was on her way home to his friends with her deceased husband's brother. She occupied a tent, and was accompanied by a slave girl, and had twelve armed men as a guard. She left Tukutpore the morning after her arrival, and was followed by a detachment from every one of our gangs,

making a party of one hundred and sixty Thugs, under some of our best leaders. For several days they followed them without finding a convenient opportunity of disposing of them, till they reached the village of Choora, between which place and the village of Sutrunja the road passed through an extensive jungle, without a village on either side for many miles. Leaving this place in the morning they put the whole party to death, and buried their bodies in a nalah. I did not go with this party.

When they set out after the widow, we all proceeded towards Nagpore; and on reaching Lahnjee, a party of sixty Thugs remained there, while the rest went on towards Nagpore. I remained with the sixty at Lahnjee, and two days after the main body had left us, a party of forty travellers came up on their way to the Ganges; thirty-one men, seven women, and two girls. The greater part of these people were from Ellichpore; the rest from Nagpore. Our Jemadars soon became intimate with the principal men of this party, pretended to be going to the same parts of India, and won their confidence; and the next day we set out with them, and in four days reached Ruttunpore, where we met the party of one hundred and sixty Thugs returning after the murder of the widow and her party. They did not, however, appear to be known to us. Soon after, two hundred of the main body, who had gone on towards Nagpore from Lahnjee, came up, having heard of the forty travellers soon after they left us; and all pretended to be going the same road, without appearing to have any acquaintance with each other. It was, however, agreed that sixty, of the one hundred and sixty, should go on and rejoin the party who had proceeded to Nagpore, leaving three hundred and sixty to dispose of this party.

From Ruttunporé, we proceeded with the party of travellers to the village of Choora, whence we sent on people to select a proper place for the murder. They chose one not far from that in which the widow and her party had been put to death. Durroo and Sheera were sent on to the village of Sutrunja to see that all was clear in front; and about a watch and half before daylight we set out with the travellers, leaving scouts behind to see that we were not interrupted from the rear. By the time we reached the appointed place the Bhurtotes and Shumseeas had all on some pretext or other got close by the side of the persons whom they were appointed to strangle; and on reaching the spot the signal was given in several places at the same time, and thirty-eight out of forty were seized and strangled. The daughter of Gunga Tewarree was a very handsome young woman, and Punchum, one of our Jemadars, wished to preserve her as a wife for his son Bukholee. But when she saw her mother and father strangled, she screamed, and beat her head against the stony ground, and tried to kill herself. Punchum tried in vain to quiet her, and promised to take great care of her, and marry her to his own son who would be a great chief; but all was in vain. She continued to scream, and at last Punchum put the roomal round her neck and strangled her. The widow of Alfie's brother was strangled, but her daughter, a girl about three years of age, was preserved by Kosul Jemadar, who married her to his own son Hunnee Rae Brahmun, by whom she had two sons, one of whom is still living, and about ten or eleven years of age. Since the death of Kosul and Hunnee Rae she has lived with her husband's mother.

We buried all the bodies in a nalah, and got property to the value of about seventeen thousand rupees, which we took on with us and divided at Sutrunja. After this

affair we returned home through Rewah and Chitterkote, the place where we had murdered the sixty persons at one time about two years before. The widow of Hunnee Rae often heard, after she grew up, of the Chaleesrooh affair in which her mother and uncle were strangled; and she has herself told you all that she knows about it.*

Q.—What became of Punchum?

Dorgha.—Punchum died before we reached home.

Q.—Had Punchum any sons?

Inaent.—Punchum had Chunderbhan, who died on a Thug expedition; Bhugholee, hung at Gwalior by Jacob Sahib; Jowahir who died in Gwalior; Odeebhan hung in Kandeish, 1829—and Molloo who died in the Nursingpore jail.

Q.—And Kosul, what became of him?

Dorgha.—Kosul Subahdar died at his home: he had two sons—Ajeeta who was transported from Saugor, 1832, and Rawut Rae who died last year in the Saugor jail. Hunnee Rae was the son of his brother, but he had adopted him.

Q.—How long had you given up Thuggee before you were seized?

Dorgha.—Soon after the Moghalanee affair 1821. Saugor and all the countries along the Nurbudda through which we used to pass in going to the Duckun were taken by the Company, and as we were constantly liable to be detained and asked a number of questions, I thought I had better give up Thuggee, otherwise I and my children might some day get hung or sent to the black water. I accordingly entered the service of Bebee Knox, who

* This is all a true tale. The party consisted of the following persons from Ellichpore. The names of those who joined them on the road I have not been able to discover.—See Appendix H.

resides in the Orderly Bazar at Cawnpore, and has some thirty-two villages purchased at auctions, and thirteen bungalows at that station. I became one of her confidential servants, and was employed in bringing her rents from her Native collectors of the villages. Colonel Knox died, I believe at Futtehgur, about the year that Saugor was taken, but I never saw him. I had served her for nearly twelve years when you sent for me, and she and all the people had become attached to me, and you know what difficulty you had to get me away.

Q.—And during this time you never went on Thuggee?

Dorgha.—Never.

Q.—But your brother Kohman went, though he was in the same service.

Dorgha.—True he went, but it was very seldom that he could be persuaded to join the gangs. He went only after long intervals, and was never long absent at a time.

Q.—I thought Hindoos never strangled women. How came Punchum to strangle this girl?

Feringeea.—Punchum was my mother's brother, and he never strangled her!

Q.—Who did?

Feringeea.—I have heard that it was Bhugwan Kachee, a slave or disciple of his.

Punna.—But is not the act of the slave the act of the master? and did not Bhugwan strangle her by Punchum's order?

Feringeea.—Well, but how was Punchum punished! did he not die before he could reach home; and was not his son Bughola hung the November following, with twenty others, whom Jacob Sahib strung up at Kalapaharee in Gwalior? and was not Bhugwan hung with him—and what a horrid death did Himmut die? He was eaten alive by the worms!

Dorgha.—I myself saw Punchum strangle the young woman. Bhugwan may have assisted.

Q.—How did Jacob Sahib seize and convict this gang?

Dorgha.—After the Surgooja affair in the month of October, a body of thirty or forty Thugs from Murnae and Sindouse, on passing near Kalapaharee, murdered three men; and soon after one of the party flogged a boy whom he had picked up some where and adopted: the boy went off to Jacob Sahib, told of the murder, and pointed out the bodies; and he seized them, and hung up twenty-one at four different places along the road.

Ameer Alee.—I was with that party. It was some years after the Surgooja expedition. I forget the name of the boy, but he belonged to Bukshee Jemadar, whose head is gone to Europe. I was employed to go forward and back with messages from the arrested Thugs to their families and friends. Large sums were offered to Jacob Sahib for their ransom, but he would not let them go: one day I found some of them hanging upon trees, and got too much frightened to return.

Q.—You were in the Chitterkote, or as you call it, the Surtrooh (sixty soul) affair. Pray tell me what you recollect of it?

Dorgha.—After the capture of Gawilgur by General Wellesley (Duke of Wellington*) it was restored to the Nagpore Rajah, who appointed Ghureeb Sing to the command of the Fortress. Anxious to get some good soldiers from Hindostan to garrison it, he sent his younger brother Ghyan Sing, with a number of followers, and a large sum of money, to raise them in the Oude country and districts between the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

* Gawilgur was taken December, 1803. This affair must have taken place 1805. See Appendix I.

Ghyan Sing and his party passed through Nagpore, and came to Jubulpore in the month of June, while we were there concentrated from the different parts into which we had extended our expeditions that season. His party consisted of fifty-two men, seven women, and a Brahmun boy, then about four years of age. Some of our gangs lodged in the town, some in the cantonments, among the troops, and some were encamped at the Tank of Adhar, two or three miles from the town on the road to Mirzapore. As soon as we heard of the arrival of this party from the Duckun, every party of Thugs deputed some of its most respectable members to mix with them in the town, and win their confidence. At first they tried to separate them into different parties to proceed by different roads, but though they had collected together at different times and places on the road, it was found impossible to separate any part of them from Ghyan Sing; and we agreed to unite all our gangs, and to lead the party by the most unfrequented roads till we might find a place convenient for the murder of the whole at once.

On reaching Sehora we persuaded them to quit the high road through Belehree and Myhere, and take that through Chundeea and the old Fort of Bundoogur, which leads through very extensive tracts of jungle, and uninhabited country. We went with them through all this country however without finding what we considered a fitting time and place, and reached Rewah winning more and more upon their confidence every day. From Rewah we went to Simareea, and from that place to a small village half way to Chitterkote, called by us the Burwala Gow, from a large Bur tree that stood near it. Thence we sent on people as usual to select a place for the murder, and they found one about two cose and half distant

in a very extensive jungle, without a human habitation for many miles on either side. We persuaded the party to set out soon after midnight; and as they went along we managed to take our appointed places, two Thugs by every traveller, and the rest in parties of reserve at different intervals along the line, every two managing to keep the person they were appointed to kill, in conversation. On reaching the place chosen, the signal was given at several different places, beginning with the rear party and passing on to that in front; and all were seized and strangled except the boy. It was now near morning, and too late to admit of the bodies being securely buried: we made a temporary grave for them in the bed of the river, covered them over with sand, and went on with the boy and the booty to Chitterkote, intending to send back a large party the next night, and have the bodies securely buried. The rains had begun to set in, and after the murders it rained very heavily all the day. The party however went back, but found that the river had risen and washed away all the bodies except two or three, which they found exposed, and pushed into the stream to follow the rest.*

Q.—What became of the boy?

Dorgha.—He was brought up by Mungul Brahmun, the brother of Laljoo, and having taken to the trade of Thuggee, he was last year sent to the black water from Saugor.

Q.—What became of Mungul and Laljoo?

Dorghu.—They both died in a village in Bhopaul where they had settled.

Q.—Chotee—You were with the party arrested by Major Henley in March 1832, I believe?

* This is a very correct statement of the case—See Appendix I.

Chotee.—Yes: we had killed five Sipahees a little on this side of Ashta, and having put them into a temporary grave, we went on, leaving nine men to bury them securely the next night. They were seized, and a party was sent after us. We were all taken—a party of sixty-three, and brought to Sehore where we were detained some days, and then sent to Mr. Maddock at Saugor. He sent us to Mr. Robinson at Cawnpore, where we were all released immediately.*

Q.—Were the bodies discovered?

Chotee.—I believe so, but it was not for that affair that we were arrested. Bechoo and his party had killed three months before a Jemadar of Hurcaras, whom the Nowab of Bhopaul had sent to escort his gang from the city of Bhopaul to Major Henley's camp. They strangled him on the road, and made off. We could tell Major Henley nothing about this affair, and he sent us out of the country.

Q.—Thakur Persaud was with that gang I believe?

Thakur Persaud—Yes, I was in that gang with Bechoo. We were a party of about forty Thugs, and in the city of Bhopal we were taken up by the Nowab's people on suspicion and sent to Major Henley the Agent, who lived three stages off at Sehore. He was at the time out on his circuit. One Jemadar of Hurcaras was sent with us, and at a place about a cose and half from the village of Kuttora he was strangled by Hindoo Aheer Jemadar, who was hung at Indore 1829, and his body was thrown into a nalah where it lay concealed in the long grass. We went on to Sohud, about eighteen cose from Ojeyn, where we murdered four people, and got a booty that gave to each man a quarter of a seer of gold—it was fifteen years ago.

* See Appendix L.

Q.—Were you not of the party arrested by Captain Waugh at Kotah in the beginning of 1822?

Hurnagur.—Yes, we had killed two Suraffs at Patun, and were forty-four of us arrested in the beginning of that year, a day or two after Feringeea's gang had been released with their faces smutted over. Our affair of the Suraffs had not been discovered, and we were arrested on the supposition that we were part of his gang who had been concerned in the murder of the cloth merchants at Kunwas. We were made to work on the roads about Major Caulfield's house at Kotah for four years and half, when he ordered us to be released. There were two Koeleea Thugs confined with us at the same time—Imma Khan and Soobratee.*

Q.—What has become of all these forty-four men?

Hurnagur.—There are only seven surviving and still at large. Some have died, some been hung, some sent to the black water, and some are here in prison. Bhimmee Jemadar has told Mr. McLeod all about them. He has put all their names in a book.‡

10*th July*, 1835.—*Present, Feringeea Brahmun—and Mudar Buksh, Dorgha, Kaem Khan, Musulmans.*

Q.—Where did you fall in with the Moghulanee?

Feringeea.—My gang consisted of about fifty persons, and returning from Joudpore to Chouroo we fell in with the Moghulanee. It was the year before Ashraf Khan Subahdar Major and his party were murdered.† We came on to Madhoorajpore, where we fell in with the brother of a *Kuptan* in the Kuroulee Rajah's service, bringing from the Pokkar fair a fine young horse for the Rajah. We set out before daylight with him and

* See Appendix K.

† Ashraf Khan was murdered 1822, February—Appendix N.

his party, put them to death and buried their bodies about a cose distant, and came on nine cose to Charsoo.

Q.—And what became of the young woman?

Feringeea.—We left her behind as we had no designs upon her; but she followed, and lodged in the Surae while we encamped on the bank of the Tank. The next day we came to Doulutpore, where we lodged with some of our Sooseea Thug friends, and the Moghulanee still followed, and lodged in the Bazar. Six of our Sooseea friends joined us here, and came on with us to Lalsont. I had tried to shake off the Moghulanee, but soon after our arrival she came up.

Q.—Where did you fall in with the Musulman party?

Feringeea.—At Lolsont. Baz Khan, Zalim, Bhimmee, Dorgha and their gangs, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five Thugs, came up from Ameergur.

Q.—What had you been doing at Ameergur?

Dorgha.—We were a large gang on our way from Ajmere to Neemuch, and having killed a good many people on the way, we reached Ameergur with a Musulman traveller, who had joined us during the last stage. Two shop-keepers came up from the Mow cantonments and lodged in our camp, and about nine o'clock at night they were all three strangled, and their bodies were wrapped up like bundles of cloth and taken by five *Lughas* to the Jheel, to the south west corner of the Fort. We were encamped on the west side. It was a moonlight night in March, and some people on the bastion saw them, and came down to see what they were about. Two out of the five men ran into our camp, and three fled in the opposite direction. The four men from the Fort, without examining the bundles, followed the two men into our camp, and demanded the thieves. They were four Meena police men, and they declared that they had

seen five men making off with bundles of clothes, and as they ran into our camp they insisted upon our giving them up. I addressed those about me in Rumasee and proposed to strangle the whole four. Punna approver, and Molloo, lately transported, seconded me, and our roomals were ready, when the Jemadars said that it could be of no use, as others must have seen the *Lughas* at the same time, and we should have them down upon us before we could dispose of the bodies. I then told the Meenas that I could not believe them unless they showed me the bundles. They offered to do so, and we proceeded on half way to the spot, which gave the gangs time to get ready to be off, when I pretended that I was afraid to go with them alone, and would go back for my sword, and a friend or two. They went on to the bundles, and I returned to our camp. We all made off by different roads having agreed to re-unite at Chouroo, and travelled all night and all the next day; as we met a Regiment of Cavalry soon after leaving camp, on their way from Ajmere to either Neemuch or Mow. We were all re-united at Chouroo five or six days after, and there we rested and divided the booty. Molloo pretended that he had thrown away in his flight all the valuables that he got from the two shop-keepers; but we suspected him. The booty acquired from eight men murdered by our different parties in their flight was here divided with what we got from the Musulman at Ameergur.

Q.—But where did you fall in with Feringeea and the Moghulanee?

Dorgha.—We fell in with them at Lalsont and came on with them to Somp.

Q.—Who were with her?

Dorgha.—She had an old female servant, mounted upon a pony, one armed man servant, and six bearers for

her palankeen. From Somp we sent on men to select a place for the murder, and set out with her before daylight; but the Belha, in the dark, lost the road, and we were trying to find it when the young woman became alarmed, and began to reproach us for taking her into the jungle in the dark. We told Feringeea to come up and quiet her, but dreading that some of her party might make off, the signal was given, and they were all strangled.

Q.—What did you get from them?

Dorgha.—Six hundred rupees worth of property.

Q.—And was this enough to tempt so large a gang to murder a beautiful young woman?

Dorgha.—We were very averse to it, and often said that we should not get two rupees a piece, and that she ought to be let go; but Feringeea insisted upon our *taking* her.

Q.—How did you advise the murder of a young woman like this?

Feringeea.—It was her fate to die by our hands. I had several times tried to shake them off before we met the Musulmans, and when we came to Lalsont I told her that she must go on as I had joined some old friends, and should be delayed. She then told me that I must go to her home with her near Agra, or she would get me into trouble; and being a Brahmun while she was a Musulman, I was afraid that I should be accused of improper intercourse, and turned out of cast.

Q.—But you might have gone another road?

Dorgha.—He could not, as he had before told her that he was going to her village of Ateer near Agra; and had he left her, she might have suspected us and got us all seized as bad characters. Khoda Buksh was placed by her as Sotha, and she told him that the young Subahdar, meaning Feringeea, should go to her home with her.

Q.—Why did she call him Subahdar?

Dorgha.—We all called him Subahdar at that time, because his cousin, Aman, was one of our Subahdars; and because he was a handsome young man, and looked like a man of rank, which was useful to us.

Q.—Had any thing improper taken place between him and the young woman?

Dorgha.—Certainly not, or we could never have killed her; but he had a good deal of conversation with her, and she had taken a great fancy to him. She was very fair and beautiful, and we should never have killed her had he not urged us to do so. Khoda Buksh who died lately in the Saugor jail, and whose brother Rostum is with Mr. Wilson, told us that we must either kill her or let Feringeea go on with her. He would not consent to this, and we agreed to kill her.

Q.—Who strangled her?

Dorgha.—Madar Buksh, while Khoda Buksh held her down, and Feringeea assisted in pulling her from her palankeen.

Feringeea.—Dorgha knows this to be false and that I was not in sight at the time.

Dorgha.—I know we called you to pacify her when she got alarmed, and I think I saw you assisting.

Q.—Did you strangle the young woman?

Madar Buksh.—I did.

Q.—Did Feringeea assist?

Madar Buksh.—No.

Q.—You were then a young man, and she was a beautiful young woman; had you no pity?

Madar Buksh.—I had, but I had undertaken the duty, and we must all have food. I had never known any other means of gaining it.

Feringeea.—We all feel pity sometimes, but the goor of the Tuponee changes our nature. It would change the nature of a horse. Let any man once taste of that goor,

and he will be a Thug though he know all the trades and have all the wealth in the world. I never wanted food; my mother's family was opulent, her relations high in office. I have been high in office myself, and became so great a favorite wherever I went that I was sure of promotion: yet I was always miserable while absent from my gang, and obliged to return to Thuggee. My father made me taste of that fatal goor when I was yet a mere boy; and if I were to live a thousand years I should never be able to follow any other trade.

Q.—Did you hear any thing about the bodies and the men from the Fort of Ameergur?

Dorgha.—We heard afterwards from travellers that they were taken to Neemuch, and charged themselves with the murder and punished.

Q.—And you went after this into service at Cawnpore?

Dorgha. Yes—I took lands at rent in the village of the Bebee and entered her service.

Q.—Who was this Moghulanee whom you killed?

Feringeea.—She had belonged to the family of Akoo Meean, the brother of Nowab Ameer Khan, but having eloped she went to the Neemuch cantonments, whence she was now on her way to the village of Ateer near Agra.

Q.—You, Kaem Khan, were with Rostum and Khoda Buksh in the Dhosa affair. Relate what you recollect of it?

Kaem Khan.—We were on our way from Madhoorajpore to Gwalior—a gang of about forty Thugs in the month of March, ten years ago—when we fell in with Bunseelal, the son of Bhujunlal, the Cotwal of Sopur. He was a lad of about seventeen years of age, and had with him two Brahmuns, one Rajpoot Sepahee and a servant of the Jat cast, and was going to Rewaree to fetch his bride. One of the Brahmuns had come from

Rewaree to accompany him. They came and took up their quarters in the same Surae with us, and we pretended to be going the same road. The next morning we went on with them to Lolsont, where we again lodged together in the Surae of Kosul Bhuteeara. The following day we went on to Ramgur with them, and thence Bhikka Jemadar went on to select a place for the murder, but he came back without finding one that pleased him, and the day after we went on together to Dhosa. We had now become very intimate with the boy and his party, who told us all their secrets. The boy lodged in the shop of a Buneea who had been long in league with us, while we lodged in the Surae at Dhosa, and in the afternoon Bhikka went on again to select a bele. He chose one in the bed of a Nalah a cose and half distant, and the five stranglers having been appointed, we set out with the boy and his party long before daylight the next morning. On reaching the place appointed they were persuaded to sit down and rest themselves. The boy sat with one of the Brahmuns upon a carpet that we had spread for him, and the other three attendants sat down upon the sand at a little distance from them. A *Shumseea* took his seat by the side of each of the five, and the *Bhurtotes* stood each behind his intended victim. The signal was given by Rostum Khan, and all five were immediately strangled, the boy himself by Bhikka Jemadar, who is still at large, while his hands were held by his brother Chunda. The bodies were buried in the bed of the Nalah. While they were strangling them, the fine mare on which the youth rode ran off, and while we were engaged in recovering her, Chunda made off with a purse of Gold Mohurs, which he found in the boy's waist band.

Q.—Did you not return to Dhoosa soon after and heard the boys friends searching for him?

Kaem Khan.—Yes; we came back to Dhoosa some time after and heard from our friends the shop-keepers, that the bodies had been dug up by Jackals, and that the friends of the murdered youth were then at Dhoosa enquiring about him. Going to the Surae we found the uncle of the youth sitting on a Chubootra in front of the door, weeping and lamenting the loss of his nephew.

Q.—Did not the father die of grief soon after?

Kaem Khan.—Yes. He could never be persuaded to eat any thing after he learnt the fate of his only son, and soon died. This we afterwards learned from the people of Sooper who still recollect the circumstance of the loss of the son and death of the old Cotwal.*

Present Thukoree, Feringeea, Dorgha, Inaent, Lalmun, Kharudee, Nundun.

Q.—You were I believe, Thukoree, among the Thugs arrested after the murder of Lieut. Monsell in the end of 1812?

Thukoree Aheer.—I was and we were kept in prison thirteen months and horribly maltreated.

Q.—What made them maltreat you?

Thukoree.—To get money from us.

Q.—Then those who paid were of course well treated and released?

Thukoree.—Not so; those who could not pay were beaten in the hopes that their friends would in time pay; and those who paid, were beaten in the hopes that their friends would be made in time to pay more.

Q.—I understand that some forty Thugs died from the beating, and confinement?

* See Appendix M.—All that is here stated is strictly true.

Thukoree.—No; not from the beatings forty or more died, but they were all killed by a great Demon that every night visited our prison and killed or tortured some one.

All.—Yes; that Demon is well remembered to this day, we have all heard him a hundred times described by the survivors.

Thukoree.—I saw him only once myself. I was awake while all the rest were asleep; he came in at the door, and seemed to swell as he came in till his head touched the roof, and the roof was very high, and his bulk became enormous. I prostrated myself, and told him that "he "was our Purmesur, (Great God) and we poor helpless "mortals depending entirely upon his will." This pleased him, and he passed by me; but took such a grasp at the man Mungulee, who slept by my side, that he was seized with spasms all over from the nape of the neck to the sole of his foot.

Q.—Was this the way they all died?

Thukoree.—Yes; this was his mode of annoying them, and but few survived. They all died like Mungulee. They had rheumatic pains and spasms all over, and the prison was for a long time visited by him every night.

Q.—Was it in the cold and rainy season?

Thukoree.—We were in more than a whole year, but this spirit came most often in the cold and rainy weather.

Q.—Who seized you?

Thukoree.—We were seized by Komere and Puhar, *Kuchwahas*, and Dureear the *Rathore*, Zumeendars.

Feringeea.—Yes; and not a soul of their families are now left to pour the libation at their funeral obsequies!

Thukoree.—Yes; they were severely punished afterwards for giving us so much annoyance.

Q.—By whom?

Thukoree.—By *Davey.*

Q.—How many were you?

Thukoree.—We were one hundred and thirty-three seized, at the requisition of the Mynporee Magistrate, who might have had the whole if he liked, but he wanted only four, and four were sent to him; but the only evidence against them was Aman, the father of Birjee, who died here in jail after the Lucknadown murders, and he became so much frightened that he let the cup of Ganges water fall out of his hands before the Magistrate, who did not in consequence believe him; and they were all four released, though they were all present at the murder of Lieutenant Monsell. One was Ruttee Ram, who was hung at Indore 1829, and for whom you paid a thousand rupees; Bukut hung at Saugor 1832; Deena, the father of Munohur, approver, and Hurnam a Zumeendar of Murnae. 129 were kept in confinement, and for each of these men 129 rupees were taken. They got above sixteen thousand rupees. Fourteen thousand of them were paid to the Subah of Nodha Rae Sing, Havildar. The very day that the money was paid into his Treasury, his son and a fine horse of his died, and he was himself taken ill. He was summoned to Gwalior, and when he offered the money to Doulut Rae Scindheea, the Bala Bae, the daughter of Madhajee Scindheea, whom he used to consult on all public affairs, told him that her father owed his death to the execution of some of these strange people at Muthura; and that he had better not meddle with the money that Rae Sing had so foolishly extorted from them; that it was money acquired by murder, and that those who got it seemed to be under some supernatural influence. Doulut Rae told Rae Sing to give away all the money in charity, and release the survivors. He did so, but it was too late—his sickness and misery continued

and he died. Doulut Rae was the adopted son of Madhajee Scindheea; Bala Bae was his real daughter, and a very wise and good women.

Q.—What made you all go to Nodha?

Thukoree.—Mr. Halhed attacked our villages, and after Lieutenant Monsell had been killed, we did not think ourselves any longer safe. Aman Sing, called the Raw Sahib, was the chief of Nodha, and he would have protected us, as there had been a compact between us and his family; but he had been removed, and Rae Sing sent us the Amil.

Q.—What were the villages you occupied in Sindouse, and Murnae?

Thukoree.—We occupied sixteen out of the fifty-two villages of Sursaedhar, and the sixteen villages of Sindouse, most of which we formed and peopled. All these villages are situated in the Delta of the Sinde and the Koharee rivers, near wehre they join and flow together into the Jumna.*

Q.—Whence did you come to occupy these villages?

Thukoree.—The Bursotes and some other of the original Mahommadan clans, after trying to establish themselves at Agra, came to Akoopore in the Dooab, and were protected in their vocations for forty years by the Gour Rajah; but he demanding too great a share of the booty, they left his country, and came to Himmutpore on the bank of Jumna, and took up their abode under the protection of the Sengur Raja Juggummun Sa, from whom the fort and town of Juggummunpore derive their name.†

* See Appendix O.

† From Juggummun Sa there have been, it is said, Pem or Pertab Sa his son, Somere Sa, son of Pem Sa, Rutun Sa, son of Somere Sa, Rukut, son of Rutun, and Muhepat Sa, son of Rukut—the present Rajah, who holds his estate under the Rajah of Jhalone.

He became in time too exorbitant in his demands for a share of the booty, and family after family left his territory, and established themselves in the Purheear, on Sindouse purguna—some occupying old, and some forming new villages, and in time they constituted the entire population of the greater part, cultivating all the lands themselves, and extending their expeditions annually into distant countries. At all these different seats the old clans made new converts from all casts of Hindoos, Brahmuns, Rajpoots, Cowherds, Shepherds, and others.

Feringeea.—My ancestors were not among the people who came this way to Sindousè. The Fort of Sursae was held by Rajahs of the Meoo cast, whence the term Mewatee. The Brahmuns of the village of Tehngoor served them as household priests ; and when one of these Meoo Rajahs went to wait upon the Emperor at Delhi, some of these Brahmuns accompanied him, and there they were initiated in the mysteries of Thuggee ; and on their return they introduced it among their friends at Murnae and other places in the Sursae or Omuree purguna. Our great progenitors Seeam and Asa went to Murnae to seek employment about seven generations ago, and were there married into the Tehngooreea families, and became initiated in the mysteries of Thuggee, and from that time it has descended without interruption in the family. Every male as he became of age, became a Thug.

Q.—Is this true Kharndee.

Kharndee and *Nundun.*—This has been believed ever since we can remember, and the Kusbatee and Porasur Brahmuns in the same way married into Tehngooreea and Kunouj families, and became Thugs like themselves.

Thukoree.—The Tehngooreeas and Kunouj Brahmans did not certainly come with the emigrants from

Agra. They were in Sursae long before, but how they got there I know not.

Feringeea.—There was a Rajah of Kuchwaha who has since became a god. His image is still worshipped in our village of Murnae. He was the Rajah of Lahae, and had three sons Ruttun Sing, Anoord Sing, and Mehngoo. Mehngoo came to Roragow, one of the fifty-two villages of Sursae, and having invited all the Meoo chiefs to a feast he got them all put to death, and established himself as Rajah, and from that time it became a Kuchwaha Rajpoot Raj. The Tehngoor Brahmuns served them as they had served the Meoo Rajahs as household priests. Rutun Sing reigned over Lalae Mehngoo, over Sursae, and the third brother over Amaen.

Q.—How came the tax of 24 rupees 8 anas to be first imposed upon you?

Thukoree.—Thugs had always been obliged to make occasional presents to the chiefs and heads of villages under whose protection they resided, but there was never any fixed rate of payment. The handsomest horse, sword or ornament, that they got in an expedition was commonly reserved for the most powerful patron of the order. At last two of the ancestors of Feringeea, Hirroulee and Rae Sing, in an expedition to the south across the Nurbudda river got a booty worth some hundred and forty thousand rupees. Rae Sing had secreted one of the diamonds which weighed a rupee, and in the division of the spoil on their return home a quarrel ensued. In his rage Rae Sing said to Hirroulee, "that a man who "could not keep his mother from the embraces of a "tanner of hides might be contented with what others "chose to give him." Hirroulee had no arms on, but calling upon his friend Telokee Rajpoot for vengeance, he stabbed Rae Sing in the belly with his spear. His

bowels burst out, but we got a silver plate applied to the wound and Rae Sing recovered; but was for a long time obliged to wear the silver plate. Rae Sing went to the Rana of Gohud, from whom he got the farm of the customs for one hundred and thirty thousand rupees a year, and the farm of the purguna of Omree or Sursae at sixty thousand. He induced the chief of Gohud to invade Sindouse, which was burned to the ground, and from that time the Thug families were made to pay every three years a tax of twenty-five rupees each. Rae Sing sold the large diamond afterwards for sixty-five thousand rupees; and the rest of the booty was estimated at sixty-seven thousand.

Hirroulee went off to the Rajah of Rampora Kuleean Sing, and gave him a present of four thousand rupees to espouse his quarrel. He got in return the village of Koorcha, granted in rent-free tenure, and built there a fine well that still goes by his name.

Q.—And had Hirroulee's mother gone off with the Chumar?

Feringeea.—It is too true; she went off with the Chumar, and that crime has accelerated the ruin of our family.

Q.—When were the Sonars murdered at Murnae?

Dorgha.—When Rae Sing and Hirroulee brought home the great booty, they sent Dorgha and another Sonar as usual to fetch merchants from Oude to buy it. They came with two merchants and bought a good deal, but Hirroulee's wife wanted to see how we killed people as she had heard a good deal about it, and they were all four strangled for her entertainment I have heard.

Lalmun.—Not so; I was present on that occasion; Hirroulee had been dead some time, when the Sonars and two merchants came to buy some of her jewels, which Hirroulee had secreted. They said they had ready money

in order to tempt her to sell them cheap, and the widow persuaded some of her friends to kill them. They were strangled and buried, but instead of seven thousand rupees, which the widow expected, we got only seven hundred. The families of the Sonars made a great noise when they could not be found. Kuleean Sing Rajah, of Rampoora, came, and found the bodies, plundered the widow and turned her out naked, and levied a fine from all, saying that now we had began to murder at home as well as abroad, we were no longer deserving of favor.

Inaent.—I saw the widow afterwards begging her way through Saugor, and she died of starvation at Sehwas in Bhopaul.

Thukoree.—When Sursae and Sindouse came under Gwalior, the Gwalior amil continued to levy the tax upon the Thugs through Laljoo Choudhuree the Zumeendar. He divided them all into families, and each family was rated at 24 rupees 8 annas every three years, upon which he as collector, got a percentage. But in his accounts rendered to the amil he inserted, as one family under the ostensible head, many branches who had separated and from whom he levied the tax separately. He therefore collected a great deal more than he accounted for. Laljoo after the murder of Lieut. Monsell, was imprisoned in the Bareilly jail, and was succeeded in the Zumeendaree of Sindouse by his son Suntokerae. The purguna of Sindouse came under the Company's Government, but that of Sursea continued under Gwalior.*

Sheikh Inaent.—After the attack of Mr. Halhed we thought that part of the country very unsafe, and a great many came off to Bundelcund, and the Bhopaul and Nurbudda districts.

* See Appendix O.

Present Inaent, Dibba, Mihrban, Bheekun Khan and others.

Q.—Tell me all you recollect about the expedition in which you were seized, Inaent ?

Sheikh Inaent.—After the Dusehra of 1829 several gangs united from different points at the village of Kohpa, between Jubulpore and Banda, about forty from the districts of Futtehgur and Cawnpore under Rambuksh, Mihrban and others, twelve under Bhola Buneea from Jhalone, and twenty-five under myself from Jhansee. We intended to operate that season upon the great road from Mirzapore to Jubulpore, and strike off to that between Saugor and Calpee when necessary. We came on to Shahnagur, and there leaving the main body I came on with Rambuksh, Bhola, and fifteen other Thugs to the village of Pureyna to search for *Bunij*. Here we met two shop-keepers, two blacksmiths and a Musulman trooper, on their way from the Duckun to the Dooab; and having won their confidence in the usual manner we sent them on to our friends with four of our party, and a message to say that they would find them worth taking; at night we rejoined the main body and found Dibba Jemadar entertaining the travellers. We set out the next morning intending to put them to death on the road to Biseynee, but we found so many parties of Brinjaras encamped and moving along that road that we could not manage it. The next morning we went on with them from Biseynee, and at a nalah in the jungle three cose distant we killed them at about eight o'clock in the morning. The bodies were buried under some stones where your people afterwards found them. We returned through Biseynee to Shahnagur, and thence came in upon the great road to Mirzapore at the village of Sewagunge.

In the evening four travellers came up on their way from Jubulpore to Banda, and were persuaded to pass the night with us on the bank of the tank. We were preparing to go on with them after the third watch with the intention of killing them on the road, when we heard the *Duheea* (the call or cry of the hare) a dreadful omen, and we let them go on unmolested.

Soon after four Sipahees of the 73d Regiment, came up and sat down at the fire to warm themselves. The Regiment was on its march from Jubulpore to Banda, and the four Sipahees were a little in advance of it. After some conversation they went on, and we prepared to set out, having thrown into the fire some clothes and a churee (a painted stick as a badge of office) belonging to the trooper whom we had murdered. While we were preparing, the two men whom you had sent on with the regiment, Dhun Sing and Doulut, came up and sat down to warm themselves.* We overheard Doulut say to Dhun Sing "this stick and these clothes must have belonged to murdered men, and these must be some of our old friends, and a large party of them," and both seemed to be alarmed at their situation as they were then alone. I made a point of being the last off, and my brother Sheikh Chund, who was lately hung, had already mounted his horse, and I had my foot in the stirrup when they saw part of the advanced guard and immediately made a rush at our bridles. We drew our swords but it was too late. Chand Khan jumped off his horse and made off, both fell upon me, and I was secured. Had Doulut and Dhun

* Dhun Sing and Doulut were two approvers whom I got from Mr. Maddock at Sehore in 1828, and sent off with Lieut. James Sleeman, of the 73d, on his march from Jubulpore to Banda with his Regiment, in the hope of meeting with these gangs on the great roads to Mirzapore. I was then in the civil charge of the District of Jubulpore.—W. H. S.

Sing called out Thugs, the guard might have secured a great part of the gang, but they appeared to be panic struck, and unable to speak. By this time the Regiment came up, and finding some of the remains of the trooper's clothes on the fire, the European officers found it difficult to prevent the Sipahees from bayonetting me on the spot. I put on a bold face, and told them that they ought all to be ashamed of themselves to allow a native gentleman to be thus insulted and maltreated on the high road, and that nothing but the dread of the same ruffianly treatment had made my friends run off and leave me. I had. three brothers in that gang; they were all afterwards taken; two have been hung and the third is here.

Q.—What did you do after Sheikh Inaent had been taken?

Bheekun Khan.—We Musulmans of his gang took the road to Biseynee through Belehree; the Dooab men went off on the road to Mirzapore, and Bhola and his party went to their homes. While we were resting at a village two cose on the other side of Beleheree, in this district, two carriers of Ganges water, two tailors and a woman came up on their way to Banda, and having rested and taken some refreshments with us, they went on in our company to Shahnagur, where we passed the night, and the next day we went on together to Biseynee, where we fell in with two other travellers on their way to Banda. These two men we found so poor that we tried to get rid of them, as they might be some obstacle to our designs upon the five, and could yield us nothing. We tried to get off without waking them, but in vain; they got up and we tried to persuade them that it was two soon for them to set out, but in vain. We then sent four of our party with orders to take them along the high road while we struck off on the bye path by which we usually took our victims

on that road. They soon after got alarmed, and insisted upon being taken to the main body which they had seen strike off to the right. The four Thugs were obliged to consent, and they soon overtook us. It was now determined that they also should die, and six of our party were desired to attend them and move on a little faster than the main body to the nalah in the jùngle, where we usually killed people. We slackened our pace, and as soon as the six men reached the nalah they put the two men to death, and concealed their bodies till we came up, when the other five persons were strangled; and the bodies of all seven were buried under the stones near the place where we had buried the five men whom we killed in our advance, and where we the next year killed the five Byragees and the Sipahee. All these eighteen bodies I pointed out to Chundee-deen, Subahdar of the 4th Regiment, whom you sent with me from Saugor in 1832.* From the two poor men we got only one rupee; but from the others we got two hundred; and in the division Chand Khan and Dulele, who have been hung at Saugor, took the share of their brother Seikh Inaent who had been arrested by the 73d Regiment.

Q.—Is this true?

Sheikh Inaent.—I believe so; they gave my share to my wife.

Q.—And what did you Dooab Thugs do in your flight?

Dibba.—We did not rest till we had got thirty miles in advance of the Regiment on the Mirzapore road. We then halted and spent the night at a small village, and were going on again the next morning when we fell in with four Gosaens, a Brahmun and a Rajpoot, on their way from Hydrabad to Mirzapore. They went on with us to

* These bodies were all taken up by the party under the Subahdar.

Omurpatun in Rewa, whence we set out with them before daylight, and on reaching the place that had been chosen the evening before they were all six strangled. It was about an hour before daylight. After we had examined the booty and made the grave, we went to take up the bodies, but one of the six got up and tried to run away. He had got off about a hundred yards when he was overtaken and strangled again.

Q.—Did he not call out?

Miherban.—Yes; but he had been so much hurt in the neck the first time that he could not be heard at any distance; and we had no sooner brought his body back and put it down among the others, than we heard the servants of Captain Nicolson coming up.* The Captain was coming from Mirzapore, and was to encamp that day at Omurpatum. As soon as we heard his servants coming up we all made off, leaving the bodies unburied; a white pony belonging to Esuree Jemadar got loose and ran towards the servants, who called out to know whose it was; and thinking they must come up before we could dispose of the bodies we made off, and left the pony behind us. Whether they discovered the bodies or not I do not know; but the people of the town must have seen them.

Q.—Had the man been able to raise his voice, the servants must, you think, have heard him?

Miherban.—Certainly. They were within hearing at the time.

Q.—Who strangled the man who attempted to run off?

Miherban.—Dibba and two of his men went after him, and strangled him.

* Captain and Mrs. Nicolson came that morning to Omurpatum, on their way from Mirzapore to Jubulpore. Vide his letter to my address of the 10th Dec. 1829—Appendix J.

Dibba.—That is not true. Persaud, who is now with Mr. Wilson, and Dojja, who is still at large, cut him down with their swords. We did not strangle him.

Q.—Did not part of your gangs after the arrest of Sheikh Inaent proceed and join that of Feringeea between Saugor and Bhopaul ?

Zolfukar.—When Inaent was seized I was with a gang of twenty-four Thugs at Shahnugur coming up with the others. Mahumud Buksh was with another of seven at Biseynee. Bhola Buneea in his flight came up and told us of Inaent's arrest. We went as fast as we could through Saugor towards Bhopaul, and at Sehora we fell in with Feringeea coming from Bhopaul with a gang of forty Thugs. He returned with us and we proceeded to Bhopaul without killing any person. From Bhopaul we retraced our steps towards Saugor, and at Omaree fell in with the Farsee and his servant and two Buneeas whom we killed. But before we killed them we had fallen in with a gang of eighteen Lodhies from the Dooab, and having shared in the booty, they left us to operate upon the Seronge roads. We had also fallen in with Noor Khan Jemadar and his gang of seven men, and they also shared in the booty of the Farsee.

After the Lodhies left us, we came on to Bhilsa where we fell in with the three men and two women, whom we killed near Manora, Ramdeen Sipahee of Bhopaul and his mother on their way home to Banda, a bearer, his wife and brother. Coming on to Baghrode we fell in with two men who told us that three of their companions had been plundered by robbers, and were behind. We came on to Bahadurpore with them, and killed them between that place and the village of Mirzapore. We had left people to detain the three who were coming up as we thought they could have nothing left after the robbery. They

asked after their two companions, and we told them that they were pushing on as fast as they could for Saugor.

We now struck off upon the Hoshungabad road, and at Belehra met Mahamud Buksh's gang of seven Thugs, and went on to Raneepore, where we killed two men, and another at Kurbeya Khera. Here to our great surprise and consternation, my mare dropped a foal, and we all came under the Eetuk, all contaminated alike; we separated to return home. I with a party of about thirty came through Bishunkera, Bhopaul, Bhilsa and Saugor home.

Mahamud Buksh.—Near Bagrode three bearers and a Bhistee came up while we were washing ourselves in the stream, on their way from Bhopaul to Saugor; and told us, in the course of conversation, that they had seen your guard seize a number of people very like us near Bhilsa. We knew it must be Feringeea's party, and fearing that these men would get us also seized on the road, we killed them and got home all safe.

Feringeea.—We were bathing at a river four cose this side of Bhilsa when I heard directly over my head the *Chireya.* I was much alarmed, and Kurhora, who is an excellent augur, told me that I ought to take the gang back on the Gunj Basoda road immediately after so bad an omen; but I determined upon coming on towards Saugor two cose to the village of Muree. On reaching this place I tied my horse to a tree, and went into the village to talk with the Putel, leaving the gang near the horse. While talking with him I heard a great uproar and saw my horse running towards the village, and on going to catch him saw your Nujeebs seizing and binding my gang. There were forty, but they secured only twenty-eight. I made off as I was half dressed and got home, and twelve of my gang escaped. Had I attended to Kurhora's advice you would have had none of us,

another proof of the efficacy of omens if attended to. My adopted son Hurreea, and Mahadeo pointed out the bodies of most of the people whom we murdered in that expedition; the rest were taken up by Zolfukar himself last year.

Mahamud Buksh.—It was a very unfortunate expedition. At Biseynee we fell in with some travellers, and should have secured them, but when Zolfukar came up, Bhola, who is always talking, could not help saying in *Ramasee.*—"After all we shall not go home without "something to please our wives and children." The travellers heard, suspected our designs, left our encampment on the bank of the tank, and went into the village. This was our first banij (merchandize) and to lose it thus was a bad omen: it was in fact like being seized. Then came the murder of the women at Manora, and to crown the whole, *the foaling of Zolfukar's mare which brought us all under the Eetuk.* Every thing seemed to go wrong with us that season, and I often proposed to return home and open the expedition anew, but I was unhappily over-ruled.

Q.—How did the guard of Nujeebs pass without seeing you?

Mahamud Buksh.—We have never been able to understand. We came the direct road to Saugor and they passed us on that road in advancing to Bhilsa. We never saw them, nor did they see us.

Q.—How did you afterwards allow yourself to be taken?

Feringeea.—Having lived among the clans of Rajpootana and Telingana for years together, I should have gone off to some of them, but you had secured my mother, wife and child. I could not forsake them—was always enquiring after them, and affording my pursuers

the means of tracing me. I knew not what indignities my wife and mother might suffer. Could I have felt secure that they would suffer none, I should not have been taken.

Q.—You were in General Ochterlony's service for some time. How did that happen?

Feringeea.—My cousin, Aman Sing Subadar, after the death of his brother, Dureear, and my father, Purusram, became our guardian. His mother was one of the first families in the country, and her sister's son, Jhundee alias Gunga Sing, had the command of two Regiments at Kotah. Having no sons of his own, he asked Aman to give him either me or Phoolsa, the son of Dureear, for whom you have offered two hundred rupees, for adoption, as he had great wealth and no child to leave it to. He suspected Aman to be a thief, but knew not that he was a leader of assassins, or he would have had nothing to say to us.

Q.—But did not Aman's mother know that he was so?

Feringeea.—Not till long after she was married, and from that time she was never suffered to visit her sister. Phoolsa would not consent to live with Gunga Sing Kuptan, nor should I, had I not had a dispute with Aman while out on a Thug expedition. I went to him, and he became very fond of me, and got me made a Subahdar in the Grenadier Company of the Buldeo Regiment. I could not live without some of my old Thug friends, and got Rambuksh my cousin, for whom you have offered five hundred rupees, enlisted and made a Havildar on my own security for his good conduct. He was always a very loose character, and when Gunga Sing went to Oudeepore with his two Regiments as the body guard of the young Queen, who was the daughter of the Kotah Chief, Rambuksh seduced a young widow, the daughter

of one of the most respectable bankers of the city, who became pregnant. As soon as the intrigue was discovered, she pounded and ate the diamond of her own ring, or something of the kind, and died, and Rambuksh was obliged to fly to save his life which was demanded by her family of the Chief. Having given security for his good conduct, I thought my own head in danger, and fled to Boondee, where I contrived to get into the service of Major Tod, recommended to him by the Post Master as a young man of high birth and great promise. On going to meet General Ochterlony at Bheelwara soon after, he recommended me to him, and he made me Jemadar of Hurcaras. I attended him to Delhi and to Ajmere, whence he sent me in charge of the Post Office peons to Rewaree. From this place I was sent with four peons to attend a young lady of the General's family from Delhi to Calcutta. Her escort consisted of a Havildar, a Naek, and twenty Sipahees, under the command of Bhowanee Sing, Jemadar of the local regiment. We reached Muthura without any accident, and lodged in Colonel Gunge. At night Bhowanee Sing was caught in an awkward position with one of the young lady's women, and dreading the vengeance of the General, he and all his guard fled. He roused me, told me what had happened, and advised me to go off with him and try our fortunes with Runjeet Sing. This I declined; but hearing that my cousin Aman Subahdar had gone that season with his gang into Rajpootana, I started, and passing through Hindone and Beeana, joined them at Kuraulee, after having been absent from him some years. It was I believe the year after I rejoined Aman that my gang was arrested at Kotah, and that we killed Ashraf Khan, the Subahdar Major of the 4th Cavalry and his party. From that time till I was taken, or about ten years, I was always out with

my gang except in the season of the rains ; and for several even of these seasons we were out in Rajpootana, where the rains offer little impediment. Indeed in the western parts of Rajpootana Thugs have an advantage in the rainy season, as at the other seasons the most wealthy travellers move along in wheeled carriages, and cannot be so easily managed as on foot or on horseback, to which mode of travelling they are obliged to have recourse in the rains.

Q.—Is Gunga Sing still living ?

Feringeea.—No, I have just heard from Jowahir, one of the Thugs whom Lieutenant Briggs has sent in, that he died four years ago at Oudeepore.

Q.—Did your wife know that you were a Thug ?

Feringeea.—Neither she nor her family knew it till you seized her and had her brought to Jubulpore, where she found poor Jhurhoo and the other members of my gang taken at Bhilsa. Her family are of the aristocracy of Jhansee and Sumtur, as you may know.

Q.—Do not the Brinjaras often perpetrate murder in their encampments ?

Feringeea.—Just before the twenty-six of my gang were taken by you at Bhilsa, and before Zolfukar joined us, we were cooking our dinner in the afternoon at a village three cose this side of Sehore, when five travellers came up on their way to Bhilsa. We tried to prevail upon them to wait for us, but they went on, saying they should spend the night at Hirora, a village four cose further on. We made sure of securing them at Hirora, and remained where we were to dine. We reached Hirora about nine at night, and searched all the village in vain for the travellers. We knew that they must either have suspected our designs, or been disposed of by other Thugs on the road ; and I recollected that about three miles from Hirora we had passed a

Brinjara encampment. In the morning I went back with a few followers, and there found a horse and a pony that we had seen with the five travellers. "What have you "done with the five travellers, my good friends. You "have taken from us our merchandise?" "Bunij," said I in Rumasee. They apologized for what they had done; said they did not know we were after them, and offered to share the booty with us; but I said we had no fair claim to a share, since none of our party were present at the *loading*—(killing). We left them and came on to Bhilsa where we met your party of Nujeebs.

Q.—And these Brinjaree Thugs are rarely seized or punished?

Sahib Khan, of Telingana.—How can their deeds be known. They do all their work themselves. They live in the desert and work in the desert. We live in villages, and cannot do our work without the convenience and support of the farmers who hold, and the influential men who occupy them. Local authorities of all kinds and degrees must be conciliated by us; but these men are relieved from all this cost and trouble by foregoing the pleasure of other men's society, and the comforts of a fixed habitation. They are wiser men than we are!

Morlee.—I was one day walking with some of our party near Jeypore by an encampment of wealthy merchants from the westward, who wore very high turbans. I observed to my friends as we passed "what enormous turbans these men wear!" using our mystick term *Aghasee.* The most respectable among them came up immediately and invited us to sit down with them, saying, "my good friends, we are of your fraternity, though our "*Aghasees* are not the same." They told us that they were now opulent merchants, and independent of Thuggee, the trade by which they had chiefly acquired

their wealth; but that they still did a little occasionally when they found in a suitable place a Bunij worth taking; but that they were now beyond speculating in trifles! We were kindly entertained, and much pleased with our new friends, but left them the same day, and I have never met any men of the kind since. The common Moltanee Thugs, who strangle men with the thongs which they use in driving their bullocks, we have often met. They are to be found all over India, but abound most to the north-west.

Q.—What—among the Sieks?

Morlee.—Yes; but they are not themselves Sieks. They are what we call Moltanee Thugs chiefly.

Q.—Have you ever known a Siek Thug?

Morlee.—Never. I never saw a Siek take to Thuggee.

Sahib Khan.—I know Ram Sing Siek: he was a noted Thug leader—a very shrewd man. He resided and still resides at Borhanpore, and used to act with Ram Sing (who was hung here at Jubulpore last month) and Rama Dheemur, and Mohun Sing, son of Pahar Sing of Poona. He served with the celebrated Sheikh Dulloo as a Pindaree for some years after he had become distinguished as a Thug, but returned to Thuggee, and acted with his old associates for two years about Borhanpore, when he went off again and joined Sheikh Dulloo. He sold Dulloo a very fine horse, for which he could never get payment; and as he wanted money he got annoyed. A large reward had then been offered by the Company for Dulloo's head. He left him for a month or two, and on coming back, Dulloo who was annoyed at his importunity, instead of advancing to embrace him as usual, merely got up from his charpae (couch) and put one foot upon the floor keeping the other upon the couch. That slight decided his fate. Ram Sing had been long thinking of

the reward, and he now determined to win it. He killed Sheikh Dulloo either that night or the night following, and took his head to Colonel Seyer at Elichpore. The Colonel said that he was sorry so brave a man should have been killed in so cowardly a manner, and sent Ram Sing to get his reward from Dhunraj Seth at Omrowtee. Dhunraj knew that Ram Sing was the Thug who had murdered a party of his treasure bearers. He arrested him, and soon after got hold of his friends Pahar Sing, his son Mohun Sing, and Rama Dheemur. They soon after made their escape from prison, and Ram Sing is now at his old trade in Berhampore. He never either got paid for his horse, or for the murder of Sheikh Dulloo.*

Q.—How often had you been on Thuggee before you saw a murder.

Sheikh Inaent.—It was on my return from the first expedition which I made with my father to the Duckun, when I was fifteen years of age, and about thirty five years ago. We were a gang of about eighty or ninety Thugs under my father Hinga and some of the Duckun chiefs, lodged in the Maasoleum outside of the town of Elichpore. Two of our leaders, Gumboo and Laljoo, on going into the Bazar fell in with the Grooms of the Nawab Subjee Khan, the uncle of the Nawab of Bhopaul Wuzeer Muhommud Khan, who told them that their

* *Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Graham, Assistant Magistrate in Khandeish, to the address of Captain W. H. Sleeman, dated the 5th November* 1835.

"Of the other Thugs mentioned as residing about Borhanpore, Ram Sing died at Dhooba, four years ago; he was the person who murdered the famous Pindarra Chief Shaikh Dullah, on whose head a reward of 15,000 Rupees was placed."

(True Extract)

W. H. SLEEMAN, *General Superintendent.*

master had been with his son and his two hundred horse in the service of the Nizam at Hydrabad; and having had a quarrel with his son he was now on his way home to Bhopaul. They came back and reported; and Dulele Khan and Khuleel Khan and other leaders of fame went and introduced themselves to the Nawab, pretending that they had been to the Duckun with horses for sale, and were now on their way back to Hindostan. He was pleased with their address and appearance, and invited them to return the next day, which they did; and the following day he set out with as many of our gang as it was thought safe to exhibit. He had two grooms, two troopers, and a slave girl, two horses and a mare with a wound in the neck, and a pony. The slave girls' duty was to prepare for him his daily potion of Subzee, and he told us that he had got the name of Subzee Khan from the quantity of that drug which he was accustomed to drink.

We came on together three stages, and during the fourth stage we came to an extensive jungle this side of Dhoba, and in the Baitool district; and on reaching a nalah about nine o'clock Khuleel said, "Khan Sahib, we "have had a fatiguing journey, and we had better rest "here, and take some refreshment." "By all means, "said the Nawab, I feel a little fatigued and will take "my Subzee here." He dismounted, laid his sword and shield upon the ground, spread his carpet and sat down. Dulele and Khuleel sat down by his side while the girl was preparing his potion of which he invited these two men, as our supposed chiefs, to partake; and the grooms were engaged with the horses, and the troopers were smoking their pipes at a distance. It had been determined that the Nawab should be first secu[illegible] was a powerful man, and if he had a momen[illegible] would certainly have cut down some of t[illegible]

they could secure him. Laljoo also went and sat near him, while Gomanee stood behind and seemed to be much interested in the conversation. All being now ready the signal was given, and the Nawab was strangled by Gomanee, while Laljoo and Dulele held his legs. As soon as the others saw the Nawab secured they fell upon his attendants, and all were strangled, and their bodies were buried in the bed of the water course. On going back to Elichpore, Gomanee sold the Nawab's shield for eight rupees, but it was worth so much more that the people suspected him, and came to our camp to search for him. Our spies brought us timely notice and we concealed him under the housings of our horses.

Q.—What was the cause of the quarrel between him and his son ?

Inaent.—The son in a passion had drawn his sword and cut the Nawab's favorite mare over the neck. A quarrel ensued, and he left his son in charge of the squadron of horse to return to Bhopaul.*

Q.—And this was the first murder you even witnessed ?

Inaent.—This was the first, and it made a great impression upon my mind, and you may rely upon the correctness of what I state regarding it.

Q.—Was this long before the Dhooma affair ?

Inaent.—Long : the Dhooma affair took place only about twenty-three years ago.

Q.—What gangs were in that affair ?

Inaent.—There were a great many both from Hindostan and the Duckun. We had concentrated at Chourae in the Seonee district between this and Nagpore, and were at least three hundred Thugs, and had just

* Reference having been made to the Court of Bhopaul through the Political Agent; this story is found to be quite true.—See Appendix S.

performed the concluding ceremonies of the festival of the Mohurrum, when a party of about twenty-seven persons, decoits I believe, came up on their way from the Duckun to Hindoostan. They had four ponies laden with rich booty which they had acquired in an expedition to the south. The following day they came on to Chupara, and we followed. They lodged in the town, we outside. Bodhoo Jemadar Musulman, calling himself Kour Khuluck Sing, and pretending to be a Hindoo of rank, went to the party and told them that the road from Chupara passed through an extensive and very dangerous jungle,* and begged that for security we might unite our parties, as we were merchants and Government servants, and not very well armed. They agreed, and the next morning one hundred and twenty-five of our gang went on with them, while the rest came by another road, all agreeing to rendezvous at Nutwara, in the valley of the Nurbudda.

I was with the 125, and on reaching two trees in the jungle sacred to the two saints Chittureea and Kunkureea, and on which people tie pieces of cloth as votive offerings, the signal was given, and sixteen of the decoits were strangled and eleven cut down with our swords. We took the bodies into the jungle near the road, and without burying them, made off with the booty, and rejoined our friends at Nutwara. The booty consisted of gold, silver and cloths, to the value of thirteen thousand rupees. We went on to Kutungee, divided the booty, and separated. The Duckun Thugs returned home, and we came with a party of eighty to Jubulpore.

* This extensive jungle was one of their "Matabur Beles," or favorite places of murder, where they used every year to kill a great many travellers.

and encamped in the Beohar's grove which you see yonder, where we had a grand Natch (ball).

While engaged in our feast, we heard that the Subah of the district was sending troops to seize us, and we made off. When the signal for the murder was given a boy happened to be unperceived at a distance from the rest, and hearing their screams, he got up into a tree, and saw the whole affair without our seeing him, as it was daylight. After we had come on, he descended, came on to Jubulpore, and found some of our party selling some of their gold lace in the Bazar, and denounced us to the Governor. We all denied any knowledge of the affair of course, but the Subah got hold of the adopted son of Khuleel Jemadar, tied him up to a tree, and gave him a severe flogging. Khuleel protested against this, and said he had better send for swords and have us all cut to pieces at once. The Subah would not listen, and at last the boy confessed. The seven leaders were confined in the fort. The others all in the Beohar's house, but after having been made to disgorge all their property, they were all suffered to escape, except three leaders, Hinga, my father Kuleel, and Murdan: the two latter were sent to Nagpore, where the Rajah released them. My father Hinga had broken his back in jumping over the fort wall, and Murdan sprained his ankle.

Q.—Were you all taken in the grove?

Inaent.—No: We had got off on the Saugor road to Kutungee, but the Subah sent a squadron of horse after us, and we were all brought back. It was commanded by Khan Mahomad, the present Cotwal of Saugor. Nasid of Telingana was in this affair.

Q.—Is this true?

Nasir.—All true; and I was obliged to give the chief officer at Kutungee a fine horse, and some other valuable

articles that I had picked up on this expedition, as I found he was an old acquaintance of mine, and well disposed towards us as long as he was well conciliated in this way. I had got far off with my gang before the Subah's party came up after the rest.

Inaent—Purumsook was then master of the *Adalut* here, and all our property had to pass through his hands. He was an old friend of ours, and must recollect the circumstance well.*

Q.—What makes you think the party were decoits?

Inaent.—Some decoits from the west, who have been confined for fourteen years in the Saugor jail, told us while we were there last year, that a party of theirs had been killed about that time near Chupara on their way back from the Duckun. They must have learnt it from the boy who escaped.

Q.—Were Bodhoo's nose and hands cut off before this affair?

Inaent.—No—A year or two after at Seronge. He went to Stockwell Sahib who sent him to Jhalone, where the Raja put him to death, by making elephants walk over him. A very dear man was Bodhoo!

Q.—What were the circumstances that made you fly to the Carnatic?

Sahib Khan.—It was about twelve years ago that my own gang of fourteen, and another of twenty-five under Jumal Khan, Seodeen, and Fukeer Mahommud, in an expedition between Aurungabad and Elichpore, joined in the murder of a Subahdar, his servant,

* Purumsook, who is now a kind of Attorney at Jubulpore, being referred to, confirms all this, but denies the *friendship*. He sold the property he says for the then government, and not for himself or the Thugs. He was a kind of *Deputy Chief Justice* at the time, and in league with all these gangs.

and two Rajpoots at a Bowlee near Chandae. The bodies were tied up in blankets and thrown into the Bowlee. Going on towards Jhalna we fell in with a Marwaree taking turbans for sale to Jhalna, and near Phaleegow we strangled him; but getting only a rupee each, we agreed to go on and wait in the Jhalna cantonments till we could find a *Bunij* more worth taking. We had however no sooner come to this resolution, after discussing over our plans on the bank of the river, than we heard the dire *Chimmama* on our right. We all started up, and with my gang I instantly retreated. Jumal Khan however ventured to take his gang on towards Jhalna in spite of this warning. We came to Omrowtee where we celebrated the Mohurrum, after which I returned to my home at Nandair, where I heard that Jumal, on reaching Jaferabad, had got drunk in a spirit shop and been seized with the Subahdar's Dooputta upon him, by some of Captain Sherriff's runners.* He gave information against Syud-alee, and he against others, till fourteen of his gang were arrested. The four bodies were taken out of the Bowlee, and parties were sent off to Major Parker, who commanded at Hingolee, with information against me and my gang. I kept myself well informed of all these proceedings, and continued to cultivate my fields. Eleven of Jumal Khan's gang having been hung, and seeing no longer any chance of escape at home, I fled. My wife and children, and my brother Bureea, and brother-in-law Chand Khan, were seized and taken to Major Parker, who released the women and children. I went first to my uncle Towukul Sah, a celebrated Fukeer and Thug, but not yet suspected, and fearing to implicate him, I proceeded soon after to Golburga to my cousin

* See Appendix T.

Sahib Khan Jemadar. I found that he, Rusool Khan, Hyder Khan, and other Thugs of his party had been seized and taken to Hydrabad. As soon as the women saw me, they wept bitterly, and having heard the tale of my misfortune, his wife took me the next day to Ochergee, eight cose distant, in the hope of finding some Thugs with whom I might serve and earn my bread. They were absent on an expedition, and I left her, and went to Muheenkulga, where I met Lungotee Jemadar, an old follower of my father's. He made me dine with him; and after dinner he told me that he intended to take the auspices in a few days, and if the omens proved favorable, should take out his gang, and me with them. I told him that I should be glad to join him, but that I would not consent to recognise him as my chief, by paying him the fees of office, as Jemadar, like the other members of his gang. He said he would take me on no other conditions. I expostulated with him, and as Peer Khan, the brother of Chand Khan, was with me, I said that he must set aside both our shares before the general division; and asked him whether he had so far forgotten the obligations he owed to my father, who had initiated him, as to have the impudence to demand tokens of subjection from the son. "Give us," I said, "our shares separately, and then "divide the spoil with your gang, and take your fees as "leader, for I will never consent to pay you any." He said it would be a bad precedent, and lower him in the estimation of his followers; and having refused to join him on any other terms, I proceeded to Korergee, where Sahib Khan, the husband of my sister, resided, and served in the gang of Nubee Sahib Jemadar. On our way we spent one evening at Hidjgeera with the families of Baba Jemadar, and eleven other Thugs of note, who had been for some time in prison at Amba, and are now with

Captain Reynolds. On reaching Korergee we found my brother-in-law, who had been sent home by Nubee Sahib with a booty of seven thousand rupees. Nubee Sahib being abent on an expedition, he recommended me to go to the great leader Sahib Khan of Kakurmulla. I did so, and found his brother Sooltan at home. I told him the story of our misfortunes, and he consoled me, and told me that though Thugs were getting seized all around them, they were as yet secure, and had still a few hundred good men for work. Sahib Khan soon after returned from market, received me very kindly and made me dine with him. While at dinner, however, we heard the *Orut-putholee*, which is considered a very bad omen in the South, and Sahib Khan told me that I ought immediately to return to my home after such an omen; but that as this was impossible under present circumstances, I must leave his house, sleep in another village, and return in the morning. I and Peer Khan did so. We remained with him six weeks, and were so kindly treated that we forgot all our misfortunes. He consented to comply with my conditions, and not to exact from us two his fees as leader. With a gang of sixty Thugs we proceeded a cose to the village of Dewurnatjee, where we waited eight days for favorable omens. Having got them, sixteen old men and boys were sent home, and the expedition was opened by forty-six. It is the custom in the Carnatic to take out all the old men and boys to the first stage where the auspices are taken, and when the omens are favorable to send them back. When they get booty, they take what is necessary for the subsistence of the gang, and send all the rest to the house of the leader, where it remains till the gang returns, when it is divided, and the boys and old men who are sent back, have an equal share of it with the others who go on. The same custom prevails

among the Thugs from Arcot, who are said to have taken it from them,

We proceeded to a village near Dharwar which we reached in eight days, and there met the *great Sheikh Ahmed*, the Thug leader from Arcot, with his gang of fifty. Going on to Dharwar together, the two leaders divided the whole into two separate gangs, one under these two leaders to operate on the road to Poona, and the other under Nathoo, and Sirjee Khan,* the brother of Sheikh Ahmed, and Sooltan, the brother of Sahib Khan, towards Naggur. We were all to rendezvous at Echora at the end of a month.

After killing a good many travellers and getting a good deal of booty, which was all sent as taken to the house of Sahib Khan, we all reunited at the appointed place, and remained together two days, when our division took the road to Naraenpath, and the other that to Dharwar. On the bank of the Bhimra river we got a prize of twelve thousand rupees worth of silk from six men, and returned home. Seven days after our return, seven of the other division came and reported that in a drunken brawl at Dharwar, the secret of their proceedings had been disclosed, and all the division, except themselves, arrested; and as a good many had turned King's evidences, we might soon expect a guard down upon us.

Having heard that my cousin and his gang had been released at Hydrabad and come with their families to Korergee, I went and joined them; and Sahib Khan left his house at Kukurmulla in charge of his brother Meean Sahib, who was not suspected, and concealed himself with

* This man has, I believe, been made over to Lieut. Elwall by the Authorities at Sattara, where he has been in prison ever since this expedition, Sept. 1835. W. H. S.

an old friend in our neighbourhood. A guard came from Dharwar, seized Meean Sahib, and so maltreated him, in order to make him point out his brother, that he threw himself into a well and was killed.

Alarmed, I and my cousin and his party, with all their families, went to Golburga, and leaving the women and children there, with a small gang went to Hydrabad, for we had now nothing to subsist upon. Near Bamnabad we found a traveller washing himself in the stream. He was strangled and his body left upon the sand. The rains had now set in, and going on beyond Akelee we found a traveller waiting on the bank of a river for some one to assist him over. He was persuaded to go up the stream a little off the road for a better ford, and there strangled. We went to Hydrabad, and thence came back through Akelee to Nowta Moshturee, killing two men on the road; and here we met Sheikh Ahmed, the great Arcot leader, with a small party of twelve. He told us that Sahib Khan had been arrested,* and all the booty of our late expedition taken by the Government guards. The next morning he left us for Hydrabad; and on our way to Golburga we for three successive days continued to fall in with small parties of Sheikh Ahmed's gang following each other at long intervals. My cousin and his party changed their abodes from Golburga to Ertalee in Bedur; and taking my family I went to Kunkee and entered into the service of Dhurumdass, the Amil on the part of Chundoolal the minister. He employed me to make the collections of two villages for him, and I resolved to leave off Thuggee, at least for a

* Sahib Khan and his brother Sooltan have been just made over to Lieut. Elwall, having been ever since the event here described, prisoners in the fort of Sattara, in the Poona territory, Sept. 1835. W. H. S.

time. Taking the collections to Hydrabad, two years after this, I met Sheikh Ahmed, who asked me *how many Thugs I had with me.* I told my story, and he mentioned that our old friend Sabib Khan of Kakurmulla, was confined in the Fort of Sattara, but that he would effect his release whatever it might cost him. He soon left me, and I could perceive that he distrusted me. One of his followers, however, Hoseyn Khan, told me that they had now all established themselves comfortably about Nulgonda on the road to Masulipatam; and in return I bid him tell his chief that he need not fear me.*

* *Extract from the Narrative of the last Thuggee Expedition of Sahib Khan Jemadar, taken before Lieutenant Elwall at Sholapore, 29th Sept.* 1835.

About eight or nine months after this time deponent and Mukhdoom Sahib, Sahib Khan Ruhmutwallah and Mooheeodeen Jemadár, with forty followers, set out on a Thuggee expedition towards the Carnatic, and halted for the night at the village of "Gornullie." On the same day Sheikh Ahmed Arcottee, Jemadar, with Guffoor Khan his brother, and Osman Khan Jemadar, with their followers, arrived at the village of "Goburargee," about two coss from "Gornullie," and both parties starting in the morning met on the road to the Carnatic and went on together, and after four days arrived at Jubulpoor in the Company's territories, where we passed the night, and having consulted together, agreed to divide into two bodies, and it was settled that from my followers Mukhdoom Sahib Jemadar, Sahib Khan Ruhmutwallah, and Mooheeodeen Jemadar and sixteen sepoys, should accompany the Arcottees, and Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar and 16 Arcottee followers, accompanied me towards Poonah, while the other party went towards the Carnatic. After three days deponent arrived at "Eroor" on the Krishna river when there was a fair. Deponent staid there and Sheikh Ahmed went on towards Jokul, and about two coss from "Eroor," fell in with two Hindoo jewellers who were seated on the bank of a stream drinking water. Having found out what the travellers had with them, they strangled them and buried the bodies carelessly. Deponent arrived while they were burying them. We got from the murdered travellers a dabba of pearls and other jewels, which were of large value, and sent them home in charge of four of our men. We arrived ourselves in three days at Sangolee on the Punderpoor road, at the same time with four Hindoo

Q.—But you have not told me why Sheikh Ahmed left Arcot?

Sahib Khan.—I have never been to Arcot, and met them for the first time near Dharwar. They used often

traders with a pony load of cloth, who were going from Jaulna to Kolapoor, and Sheikh Ahmed having insinuated himself into their acquaintance went on with them to "Walmurra," where they halted near a Hindoo Dewul. Deponent also came there and joined Sheikh Ahmud in the evening and we staid the night there. In the morning Sheikh Ahmed and the others went on with the Beiparies, and about a mile from the place, in a dry nullah, strangled the travellers and buried their bodies. I came up after the murder. We got from the travellers the following property: 13 Embroidered Doputtas, 9 Silk Scarfs, embroidered, 45 Rs. weight of Gold Thread, and 156 Turbands, which we sent home with 6 men and went on to Mirich Taj Gaon, when the fair of Khoja Shumna Meerun Sahib" was being held; we saw the fair and then went towards home, and arrived at a village on the Krishna River, where four Hindoo traders, in the service of some Saokar, with three bullocks laden with silk, had put up. We staid there, and the next morning the Jemadar Sheikh Ahmed, went on with the Beiparies, and about a coss from thence, in a dry nullah, murdered and buried them, and taking the property went towards home. Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar took half the silks home with him to Chilmullah, in the Nizam's country, and the rest I took with me.

The other party which separated from us at "Jaulpar" and went towards the Carnatic, having reached Anegra in the Dharwar District, halted there. At this time in the cantonment of Hooblee a Decoittee had taken place, and the Police seeing the Thugs there, suspected them, and they were immediately seized and taken to Dharwar. The Aumil then enquired concerning the Thugs, and one of the Arcottee followers named Mahumud Khan, confessed and told that Shiekh Ahmed Jemadar lived at Chilmullah, and Sahib Khan Jemadar (deponent) at Kukurmullah, and that the persons seized were the followers of the two Jemadars'. I hearing that search was making for me and Sheikh Ahmed, left my home and went and staid at the village of Neem Nullie. In the mean time the Sircar's people, by order of Mr. J. Munro, came to my house, and ordered my brother Meean Khan to tell where I was; he said that I had left the village. They thinking he was speaking falsely, began to kick and beat him till he said he would tell where his brother was, and taking the Police people with him outside

to talk of Arcot, and of their having been obliged [illegible] years before to leave it by a hot pursuit kept up by [illegible]

the village into a garden where there was a Baolee, he watched his opportunity and threw himself in and was drowned. My other followers being frightened fled the village and came to me at Neem Nullie, and about fifteen days afterwards the Police, having got information of our being there, came and seized us, and took us before Mr. John Munro at Mungolee. The undermentioned property was seized in my house and sent in by Gobind Sobhajee Pundit and Dewan Ramchand Rao, Moonsifdar of Koolkunundghee:

List of Property ; viz.

	No.		No.
Silk, ... bundles,..	3	Daul, ...	5
Gold Thread or Kullabuttoo, bundles, ...	4	Swords or Tulwars, &c.......	14
		Musquets, ...	2
Buttooah, wt. several Stones,	1	Doputtah, ...	13
Dabba with Pearls, ...	1	Silk Scarfs or Sowla, ...	9
Horses, ...	3	Turbands, ...	156

The three Horses were sold and their price was given to my father and family, and afterwards Nursing Ba Ressuldar was ordered by the Gentleman to give them their ornaments and brass vessels, &c. as also a quantity of grain of different sorts, of the value of about 100 Rupees; about this time Mr. John Munro was shot at the fight at Kittoor, and the Ressuldar sent myself, my brother *Sheikh Dawoll* and Sona Khan, Sheikh Emam Sahib and Sheikh Hoossein, followers of Sheikh Ahmed Arcottee Jemadar (in all five persons) to Pando Rung Subadar at Beejapoor, but the jewels, &c. were not sent. We were kept twenty days there, and then sent to Sattara, where we have been imprisoned for twelve years; when we had been there about three months, Aproop Khan, Mean Khan, and Gurd Sahib Khan, living at Naghnee, were seized, and sent to the Rajah by the Ressuldar at Mungolee; about six years after this Mooheeodeen, a relation of Gurd Sahib Khan, living at Naghnee, in Ulmullah, procured the release of the six others by paying six hundred rupees to the Rajah's people, and I and my brother remained in prison till we were sent here.

(True Extract)

(Signed) T. ELWALL, *Asst. Agt. Governor Genl.*

(True Extract)

W. H. SLEEMAN, *General Superintendent.*

a native magistrate.* Sahib Khan of Kukurmullah told me that while he and his gang of sixty men were one day cooking their food on the bank of a river near Kukurmullah they saw these people come down to the river to fish. They soon perceived that they understood their mystic terms, and got into conversation with them. The two chiefs had an interview in which Sheikh Ahmed explained how he had been obliged to leave Arcot, and seek an asylum, which he did not much like, in a village in the neighbourhood. Sahib Khan prevailed upon him and all his party with their families to come with him ; and having introduced him to the Rajah of Shorapore Bedur, as a great Thug leader, the Rajah got them established in his neighbourhood in the town of Chichurmulla. Sheikh Ahmed is the wisest man I know. He has great wealth, but he keeps it concealed in the woods. When danger approaches, he scatters his gang, and wanders alone with his wife till it is past or till he finds another secure abode, when he transfers his wealth to the woods about it. His followers have wonderful confidence in him, such as I have never seen in the followers of any other leader.†

* This was Mr. Wright—see his letter and Doctor Sherwood's paper in the Appendix. It was by the proceedings of Mr. Wright that Doctor Sherwood was enabled to write his paper.

† *Extract from the Deposition of Sheikh Sahiban, lately arrested at Hingolee, before Captain Reynolds, 27th October,* 1835.

The Arcottee Thugs are proverbially wary and alert, among all the Thugs of the Dekhan, and their rules and regulations are very strict. They do not allow of indiscriminate strangling. The stranglers are regularly instructed in the use of the handkerchief, and no one is permitted to use it, until he has practised, and until the omens which are looked for at his initiation, are considered favorable. The Arcottees will not strangle women, nor shoemakers, dhers, barbers, goldsmiths, and washermen. If the first travellers met with on an expedition have a cow with them, they are spared, even if it is known they

Q.—What became of your brother-in-law [illegible] and your brother Bure[illegible]

Sahib Khan.—They made their escape from H[illegible]olee, and are still on the roads some where. They ca[illegible] me

have treasure in their possession. The Hindustanee and Dekhunee Thugs by not attending to these rules, and strangling shoemakers, barbers, and all sorts of people, have brought down retribution on the heads of all the Thugs in India. All the Arcottee Thugs that I have met with, adopted the dress and appearance of Sepoys of the Regiments of Infantry and Cavalry. They wear the checkered loongees and short jackets like Sepoys, carry canes in their hands, and being very fond of beetlenut and paun, every man has a small bag in his possession for holding the ingredients. They frequently represent themselves to be Sepoys going on leave or removed from one station to another, and even make themselves acquainted with the names of European Officers in order to pass more easily through the country. They make themselves *knapsacks*, (the word made use of by the deponent) and carry their clothes in them. The Jemadars take on themselves the semblance of merchants, and pretend to be going to make purchases of goods, or to be conveying merchandise for sale. They always have four or five of the gang in personal attendance on them, to give them the hookah, cook their victuals, and clean their ponies. These men march in company with the Jemadar, while the other Thugs move along the road in twos and threes, and only collect on the occasion of the perpetration of a murder. They can only be arrested by having parties of approvers stationed on all the great roads of the Carnatic. The Police, though it is very vigilant, has not the means of preventing cases of Thuggee, and even if Thannahs of Police peons are posted along the roads, the Thugs will manage to murder close to them. I will give an instance in proof of this. Sheikh Ahmed Arcottee Jemadar came into the southern Mahratta country and strangled some treasure carriers in charge of 16,000 rupees, at the Salpa Ghât. There is a Chowkee placed on the Ghât now, and if the peons are asked, they will state the Chowkee to have been placed there in consequence of this murder. But this has not had any effect in diminishing the number of murders perpetrated at this very Ghât, where I am sure a hundred skulls of murdered travellers might be dug up any day. The Thugs will be first to go out, beg the protection of the Police Chuprassees on the roads they travel on, pretending great dread of robbers, and then will perpetrate a murder close to the road which the Police is supposed to guard.

when he was on my way to Kunkee and had resolved to give up Thuggee, and told me of their escape.

The Arcottee Thugs usually start on their expeditions during the first seven days after the festival of Dewalee and Holee ; and if they have had favorable omens, they have no doubt taken to the roads before this time. It is very probable that Dawuljee Jemadar of Binsee has heard of the seizures at Sholapore, and therefore will not come northward this year, and as this is his usual season of setting out, he will certainly proceed towards Bangalore and Seringapatam, or perhaps by Bellary towards Cuddapah. When I was at Binsee, this time last year, Dawuljee and his gang were intending to make an excursion into the Mysore country. They had a short time previously been as far as Hurryhur, but had turned back in consequence of the omens being inauspicious. The Arcottee Thugs do not now come into the Dekhan so much as formerly. Indeed since the time of the arrest of my brother-in-law, Sahib Khan Jemadar, and his companions by Mr. Munro, which is about 12 years ago, they have never made their appearance north of Dharwar. When the great arrest of Thugs took place in the zillah of Arcot, by Mr. Wright, during my youth, great numbers of Arcottee Thugs fled from that part of the country, and settled first in the Sorapoor Talooka under the Hydrabad Government. I have heard that Sheikh Ahmed, Ladeekur Sahib Khan, Oosman Khan, Chabriah Emaum, Hoonoorgah and other Jemadars, who were the leaders of the party that came first to Sorapoor, agreed to pay the Sorapoor Rajah 2,000 rupees a year for his protection. The party consisted of 50 or 60 Thugs, whose numbers were afterwards increased by stragglers from Arcot, and the families of the Thugs who followed them. All these Thugs remained in the Dekhan until Mr. Munro commenced his seizures, when they left their habitations under the guidance of Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar, and passing through the Hydrabad country settled somewhere fifteen days journey beyond it towards Masulipatam, They afterwards obtained on three occasions 14,000, 7,000, and 3,000 rupees of treasure by the murder of the carriers. This is within the last 8 or 10 years. They then went and settled near Nundyal in the Cuddapah district. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ years ago, Emaum, brother of Tippoo Jemadar, a relation of my own, went from Binsee where I was at the time, to Nundyal, to see Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar. When he returned, he informed us that Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar had a short time previously been out with his gang, and had strangled four Gollah peons carrying treasure ; and that each Thug had received 9 tolahs of gold, and 300 rupees as his share of the booty. During the time of Sahib Khan Jemadar's confinement at Sattara, Tippoo Jemadar, brother-in-law of Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar, was also detained along with

Davey Deen—Bhikha—Dojjā—Khoda Bu[illegible]—Fe[illegible]n-geea—Zolfukar—Dorgha—Kaem Khan.

Q.—You were among the men arrested by Mr. Wright were you not, at Cawnpore ?

Bhikka.—Yes, I was among them; he got about a hundred, and put them all into one old jail at Bithore on

him ; and Arcottee Thugs were in the habit of coming to gain intelligence regarding him and his companions, and by that means we were kept acquainted with the proceedings of the gangs to the south.

(True Copy)

W. H. SLEEMAN.

Extract Deposition of Myan Khan, alias Lungotea, Jemadar of Thugs, lately arrested, taken before Captain Reynolds at Hingolee on the 31*st of October* 1835.

I will state the names of such of the Arcottee Jemadars of Thugs as I am acquainted with.

Oosman Khan Jemadar, a man of a robust habit of body. I met him last upwards of four years ago on the Kurnool road, beyond Hydrabad, with a gang of 50 Thugs. He resides at Mulhar, some where in the vicinity of Bellary.

Sahib Khan Ladeekun Jemadar, a relative of Oosman Khan Jemadar, whom he follows.

Sheikh Ahmed, son of Dawuljee Jemadar, formerly had a gang of 50 Thugs. I have not seen him since the time Mr. Munro arrested Thugs in the Zillah of Dharwar, but have occasionally heard of him.

Chabreah Emaum Jemadar, and his brother Hoonoorgah, had formerly a gang of 30 Thugs. I have not seen them since the time of Mr. Munro's arrests, but within the last two years I have heard that they were residing in the jurisdiction of some Rajah near Bezwarah, on the road from Hydrabad to Masulipatam.

Tippoo, the brother of Sheikh Ahmed, in whose company he is. I have not seen him since the time abovementioned.

In former times, all these Jemadars, with many hundreds of Thugs, resided in the Arcot and other adjacent Zillahs ; but about 20 or 22 years ago, Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar, with a party of sixteen Thugs and four

the information of Munsook Brahman and others of our gang, They told us that if we told the truth and proved our story, we should have favor, and many did so; but the people about Court soon told us we were fools, for those

women, came to the Oorus of Peer Dustgeer, which takes place at the village of Neeloor, in the Pergunnah of Goolburgah, where he met me and Khooddoo Jemadar, who had also come to attend the Oorus. Sheikh Ahmed informed us that he was an inhabitant of the Arcot Zillah, and that a great misfortune had befallen the Thugs of that part of the country, for as the English gentleman had commenced arresting them, there was no dwelling place left for them there; he therefore wished to settle himself elsewhere. We further heard from Sheikh Ahmed that his father Dawuljee Jemadar of Thugs, had been apprehended, and was there in confinement either at Vellore or Bangalore. In the end, Sheikh Ahmed and his gang went into the Sorapoor District and had an interview with the Rajah through the intervention of Khoddoo Jemadar, and fixed his residence in the village of Bullondghee. In the course of the year, nearly 100 Thugs were assembled at Bullondghee and the neighbouring villages, in consequence of the relatives of the others coming from the Carnatic to settle there. I have heard that they paid large sums of money yearly to the Sorapoor Rajah. Some years after, the Thugs having amassed great wealth, the Rajah demanded a fine from them. They therefore left Bullondghee and took up their abode at the village of Chinmullah, the Jageer of Raheer Patail, in the Afzoolpoor Pergunnah. During this interval the Thugs used to go out for "*Rozgar*," in the direction of Kurnool and Cuddapah, and on the road to Masulipatam.

Several years afterwards, Sooltaun Khan Jemadar, the brother of Sahib Khan Jemadar of Kukermulla, (now an approver at Sholapoor) was apprehended at Annygherry, and a Thug of his gang named Mahomedaa, confessed his guilt and pointed out the places of residence of the Thugs. He was sent to Mr. Munro, the Magistrate of Mungolee, in the Dharwar Zillah, who commenced arresting Thugs according to his evidence. Nearly 40 or 50 Thugs were seized, from among whom Sahib Khan Jemadar of Kukhermulla, Chunneeka Sahib Khan and others were sent to Sattara; and Mahomedea, Lumboo Burreah, Giddoo Burreah and others to Dharwar, and there detained in confinement. Dreading lest they should be arrested, Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar and the Arcottee Thugs, with their wives and families, left their homes in the Dekhan, and went to Hyderabad, from whence part of them proceeded on the Masulipatam road and the remainder on the Kurnool road, and

who confessed were sure to *swing*, while those who denied were equally sure to get off. A Daer Saer Sahib (Judge of Circuit) came from Bareilly and examined us, and went back; another came, and as soon as he got back he sent

fixed their residence in the vicinity of those places. Since that time the Arcottee Thugs have not again visited the Dekhan during their Thug expeditions. They range through the country bordering on the sea coast, by Masulipatam, Rajamundry and Chicacole; or move by way of Madras up to Seringapatam, and then back again to their own abodes.

The Arcottees are generally hereditary Thugs, by caste Mussulmans, are great eaters of Beetlenut, usually wear Loongies like Sepoys, and often represent themselves to be in the Company's service, in order to secure themselves from molestation on the road. They bury the bodies of their victims securely, lest the secret of Thuggee should be divulged, and are much more deceitful than the Dekhnee Thugs, so that rich merchants and Sahookars place confidence in them on account of their respectable appearance. Their manner of strangling with the handkerchief, mode of burial, and other rites, are similar to those of the Dekhnee Thugs, though there is some difference in the slang language of the Arcottees. They generally use the Hindustanee language in common conversation, though they also speak the Tamul.

I recently obtained intelligence of Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar and other Arcottee Thugs in the following manner. There was an Arcottee Thug named Kasim, who formerly came and resided with Sheikh Ahmed Jemadar, in the Afzoolpoor District. He contracted a marriage in the village of Bullondghee, but when Mr. Munro began to seize Thugs, Kasim and his wife fled the country, in company with Sheikh Ahmed. About two years ago, Kasim's father-in-law named Ismael, left Bullondghee in search of his son-in-law. After some time Ismael returned, bringing with him both Kasim and his wife, and they took up their residence at the village of Gour, in the Afzoolpoor Pergunnah, where they were both residing at the time of my arrest, about three months ago; and if they are seized they will be able to give correct intelligence regarding the place of abode of the Arcottee Thugs. I heard from Ismael and Kasim that Sheikh Ahmed, Mahomed Hoosain, and Emaum Sahib Arcottee Jemadars, with sixty followers, were living in some villages four or five koss on this side of Bezwarah, on the Masulipatam road, appertaining to some Hindoo Rajah Zumeendar, beyond the Hydrabad Territory.

There is also a female named Jugdumah, who is a Jemadarnee of Thugs, with a party of upwards of 200 persons, who reside in certain

an order for our release. Ramdeen, who was hung last year at Cawnpore, and Kesuree Subahdar, who was hung here this year, were kept in for a short time longer.

Q.—Was that Ramdeen your brother?

Davey Deen.—Yes, my eldest brother and father of Heera approver, who is with Mr. Wilson.

Q.—How long was this before Mr. Stockwell's proceedings?

Davey Deen.—The *Istakole Kee Gurdee,* (the Stockwell inroad) took place very soon after. Dojja was one of the men arrested.*

Dojja.—Yes; Stockwell and Perry Sahibs scraped together some two hundred of us at Mynporee, but a Daer Saer Sahib came from Bareilly, and released all for whom the Zumeendars would give security. The twenty who could not get it were retained.

Davey Deen.—Yes, I remember. Mr. Stockwell and Perry went down in the same buggy to the Sahib and told him that they had secured us at much cost and trouble, and that we were all *aseel, thorough-bred Thugs;* but he said it would not do to keep us upon mere general report, particularly if the Zumeendars would vouch for

villages belonging to some Rajah, situated three days journey on this side of Bangalore. The Thugs of her gang proceed on expeditions towards Masulipatam and Chicacole. Jugdumah is about 50 years of age, and has two sons named Sirdar Khan and Burree Khan, besides her own two brothers. She exercises the authority of Jemadarnee herself, but sends her sons and brothers out in charge of the gang; she has amassed great wealth by the practice of Thuggee.

(A true Translation)
(Signed) P. A. REYNOLDS, *Supt.*

(True Copy)
W. H. SLEEMAN.

* See Appendix V.

us. He went to Calcutta, and six months after came back and caused us all to be released, by an order from the Sudur, except eighteen.

Dojja.—But they got hold of me again two years after, and kept me in for fifteen years doing all kinds of work.

Khoda Buksh.—Mr. Stockwell seized me and six others at Oureya, and we were sent to Bithore and kept at Rabukaree, with some hundred of the Thugs, for more than six months, when Rehlee Sahib ordered us seven to cut muttee (work on the roads) for a year, after which we got off. Cheynooa Brahman and his brother Holosee are still at large. Munsa was hung here the other day. Bhowanee died in the Saugor Jail, and Doulut Brahman died at home. Ramah Lodhee is here one of the approvers?

Q.—It was not your relation Ashraf Jemadar, who is still at large, among the number?

Khoda Buksh.—No, he was not with us.

Feringeea.—Ashraf never got the rank of Jemadar of Thugs.

Zolfukar.—You mistake, he is a Jemadar.

Feringeea.—None but his own relations ever called him so.

Q.—But I find him entered as a Jemadar in the book?

Feringeea.—You may write him down a *king* in your book if you please, but he was no Jemadar of ours.

Zolfukar.—Had he been a Brahman like yourself, instead of a Musulman, you would have thought him so.

Q.—But how did the Zumeendars venture to give security for you all; they must have known you to be Thugs?

Dave Dyeen.—They knew us very well, but they had then confidence in us; they thought we should keep our own

secrets, and if we did so, no one else would be able to convict us and get them into trouble.

Zolfukar.—Yes; there was then something like *religion* and good faith (Dhurum Eeman) among us, and we found friends every where. Where could we find them now?

Davey Deen.—When I and my brothers were seized by Mr. Monckton, the Zumeendar would have given any security for us.

Feringeea.—When Madhoo was seized by Mr. Benson and sent to Saugor from Etawa, they would have given ten thousand rupees security for him.

Kuleean Sing.—When our gang was arrested at Hoshungabad, was there not a scramble among the Hill Chiefs and Zumeendars to get us released upon their security? Did not many both there and at Jubulpore, who had never seen us in their lives, make their agents offer any security that could be demanded for our future good behaviour.

Q.—And why did they do this? They no doubt thought you very innocent and respectable men under misfortunes?

Kuleean Sing.—Not at all. We managed to persuade them that we could, by being allowed to follow our old trade under their protection, be made a new source of revenue to them. We told them that we would pay for the little land we might cultivate in their villages more than fifty times its value.

Chotee.—Did not the Khyrooa Chief stand a long siege from his master, the Jhansee Rajah, before he would give up eight or ten of us?

Kaen Khan.—And was not the Maharajah of Gwalior obliged to send two large guns and a great force against Bhumma Zumeendar of Bahmanpora before he would give us up; and were not several lives lost in the action which continued from daylight till nine in the morning.

Bhumma was very fond of us, particularly of our Jemadar Gholab Khan, whose father had been hung the year before at Saugor, and who is now an approver with Mr. Thomas, and he said he would rather die than give us up: but poor man he had only sixteen muskets to fight with, and had got into disgrace at Court by not paying his rents! The Lord Sahib (Lord William Bentinck) must have heard the guns, for he and the Rae Sahib were encamped only a few miles off at the time?

Dudoo Nujeeb.—Yes, and you strangled Larroo, the poor female spy,* whom we sent in to look after you. We heard it afterwards from a dancing girl of the place: And we had much trouble to get you after all, for the Amil would not give up the five Thugs whom he had secured, unless we gave him a receipt for the ten who had got away also, saying, "there had been trouble and fighting enough for fifty Thugs." This we refused to do however.

Kaem Khan.—I know nothing about Larroo's death. She must have been killed somewhere else.

Q.—What gives a man the rank of Jemadar?

Dorgha.—A man who has always at command the means of advancing a month or two's subsistence to a gang will be called so; a strong and resolute man, whose ancestors have been for many generations Thugs, will soon get the title, or a very wise man, whose advice in

* There is no doubt that this party did strangle this woman, the wife of Peer Buksh approver. She had traced them to the village before, and now accompanied the guard sent to arrest them. She entered the village alone and was never after seen. They will not acknowledge that they killed her. A Nujeeb and a trooper who entered the village in the disguise of Fukeers, to verify Larroo's information the first time, had a very narrow escape. They were obliged to plunge into the river Chumbul, and remain up to their chins in water, a whole night, while the Thugs and villagers were searching every bush on the bank.

difficult cases has weight with the gang; one who has influence over local authorities, or the native officers of courts of justice; a man of handsome appearance and high bearing, who can feign the man of rank well—all these things enable a man to get around him a few who will consent to give him the fees and title of Jemadar; but it requires very high and numerous qualifications to gain a man the title of Subahdar.

2nd September 1835.

Q.—What age are you?

Shumshera.—I am about twenty-four.

Q.—Where do you reside?

Shumshera.—My family have resided in the village of Chorkeya, twenty cose north east from Ghazeepore and in that district, for three or four generations, but my father absconded, and his creditors became very importunate for the payment of the money he owed, and I and my brother Runjeet, who is now in the Ghazeepore Jail, were obliged to go and reside in the village of Bhorajpore, six cose north from Chupura. Four months after this we were both seized by Mr. Smith and brought to Ghazeepore two years ago next October.

Q.—I understand you have served with the River Thugs of Bengal?

Shumshera.—On one occasion only. I had been on one expedition with Dilawur Khan and one with Futteh Khan, and after these I went with Bhowur Khan and Moradun, two Lodaha Thugs, and joined Jhoulee Khan the fair and Gholamun. Jhoulee Khan had a man to carry his bundle by name Nathoo, as he was to act this season with Jypaul Kaet, a Jemadar of the Bongoos, or River Thugs. He acted as their Sotha, or inveigler, this

season. We joined Jypaul at the Mormakeya Ghat, where he had two boats at the different Ghats, two and three cose from each other. Jhoulee Khan brought two *Beetoos* to the boat which Jypaul commanded in person, and Bhowur Khan and I embarked with them. As soon as we had all got on board, Jypaul said in Rumasee, "let the Boras (Thugs) separate themselves from the *Beetoos*," and we did so, leaving the two travellers together. Four men were on the bank pulling along the boat, one was at the helm, acting at the same time as the *Bykureea* or spy, and seven of the gang were below with us and the travellers. We had got on about a cose when the *Bykureea* at the helm, seeing all clear, called out " Bhugna ko pawn do," give my sister's son pawn. This was their mode of giving the *Jhirnee*, or signal, and the two Beetoos were strangled. After strangling them, they broke their spinal bones *thus*, by putting their knees upon their backs, and pulling up their heads and shoulders. After doing this they pushed them out of a kind of window in the side. Every boat has two of these windows, one on each side, and they put the bodies out of that towards the river. They break the spinal bones to prevent all chance of the people recovering and giving evidence against them. We generally stab the dead bodies through on both sides under the arm pits; but they are afraid to cut or stab the body lest there should be signs of blood upon the water as the corpses pass other boats that are following them on the river.

Q.—What booty did you get ?

Shumshera.—We got only sixteen gundas of pice (64), two brass lotahs, and the old clothes which the two men wore. It was hardly worth dividing. But coming on near Monghere, Jhoulee Khan, with whom we had landed and gone along on the road near the river, inveigled another

man, a Beetoo from Bengal going to Guya on Pilgrimage, who yielded sixteen gundas of rupees, and we six got fifteen of them among us—at least Jhoulee Khan shared only fifteen with us.

Q.—How was he disposed of?

Shumshera.—In the same manner as the others I believe, but I did not go on board this time. Jhoulee Khan and Bhowur Khan embarked with him and brought back our share of the booty. After this affair I left them near Monghere, as I got very little and grew melancholy, as there were no Thugs of my own clan or district. They were all *Bungoos* and Loduhas.

Q.—What became of Jypaul's other boat?

Shumshera.—It waited for other passengers, and we did not see it again, as the boats go on from Ghât to Ghât without returning till they reach the end of their voyage up the river.

Q.—Were your father and grandfather Thugs?

Shumshera.—I believe so. I learnt so from others, but I never was taken out with them on Thuggee. I was taught by Dilawur Khan Jemadar, of Choubar in Chupra, son of Choramun; he has two brothers, Dokkee and Futtih, and all three are very noted Thugs, but they are also cultivators.

Q.—But how could you be ignorant of your father being a Thug when he used to go every season on Thuggee?

Shumshera.—He and my uncle Dondee used to say that they had been in service, and we never heard them say any thing of Thuggee. I should have known nothing about it had I not been taken out by Dilawur, Futteh Khan, and afterwards by Jhoulee Khan the Fair, who told me that I was of a very high Jumaldehee family of Thugs, the clan from which he and all the Lodahas sprung.

Q.—How are the River Thugs not suspected by the people who live on the banks of the river?

Shumshera.—They are very well known by the Goreyts (police-men), and some other people of the small villages along the banks of the Ganges; they sometimes keep their boats near these villages for several days together. The two lotahs taken from the two men whose murder I have described, were given to the Goreyt of the village of More, whom Jypaul after the murder sent off for eight annas worth of spirits. These Thugs never keep any part of the booty but the money, lest it should bring them into trouble. The clothes of the two men were thrown into the river. The principal men of the gang, or the shrewdest of them go along the roads, each having a servant carrying his bundle and proceeding towards the Ghât where his boat is to be found, whether going up or down the river. When a traveller overtakes him, he learns whither he is going, pretends to be ignorant of the road, to be going to the same place with the traveller, but to be entirely unacquainted with it, and anxious to have somebody to instruct him. If the traveller had not intended to go by water, the Thug soon pretends to be much tired, and wishes that he were near a boat. The traveller expresses the same wish, and they agree to diverge from the road to the river. Coming to the Ghât the Thug pretends that he is a good hand at a bargain, and is allowed to agree for a passage for both. He beats down the master of his own boat, after a good deal of disputing, to half price, and the Beetoo is much pleased and expresses his gratitude; they embark, and the Beetoo is killed as soon as they get away from other boats. If the Beetoo suspects or dislikes the first man, he soon falls in with the inveigler of another boat who learns it by a sign, and pretends to enter into the Beetoo's feelings and anxiety

to throw off the first, who on some pretence remains behind, while his friend takes the traveller to the other boat further on than his own, where he is disposed off. They are much more numerous than we are. I have not heard of more than about thirty families of Moteeas, and the Lodahas are not much above two hundred men, but the Bongoos are very numerous I have heard.

Q.—What do they consider the best season for their work?

Shumshera.—The months of November, December, January, and February. In March it becomes too hot, and in the rains the river is considered to be too rapid, and the boats cannot be pulled along the banks.

Q.—Was your brother Runjeet a Thug?

Shumshera.—Never; he never went on Thuggee, and used often to admonish me against going, but I did not attend to him.

Imam Buksh and Bukhtawur are sent for.

Q.—How was it that this lad's father, Madar Buksh, an old and noted Thug, did not initiate him himself?

Bukhtawur.—His father used to drink very hard, and in his fits of intoxication he used to neglect his *prayers*, and his *days of fast*. All days were the same with him. This lad, Shumshera, was always sober and *religiously disposed*, and separated from his father, living always with his uncle Dondee, who was a very worthy and good man.

Q.—But he was a Thug also?

Bukhtawur.—Yes, he was, but he did not tell this boy so.

Q.—This lad says the Bongoos are known to the villagers on the bank of the river?

Bukhtawur.—He is a mere boy; if they were known to the villagers, how could they escape so well. They rarely

keep their boats near villages; but when they do, they conciliate the Goree and other police men that they may ... questions.

... They never keep any thing but money he says?

...khtawur.—Rarely. They throw every thing else ... in order to keep clear of the Custom-house ... ers who are very numerous in that quarter.

...—He tells me that Jhoulee Khan the Fair has become ... Thug?

...htawur.—Yes, for the last seven years Jhoulee has ... to the river; he bought a boat or two with some of them, and being a very clever man he makes one of their best inveiglers I hear.

Q.—And his namesake? Jhoulee Khan the Black?

Bukhtawur.—He keeps to the roads, and he has villages to take care of. He rented two villages from Dolar ...oudhuree, who is a Rajah without a *Tiluk*, whose ...-in-law demanded from him the rent rather harshly; Jhoulee was a proud man, and gave him a drubbing with his shoe, and the Rajah got him seized and sent to Mozufferpore as a Thug. He was twelve years in prison, and has been at large for the last ten years, reporting himself to the police in person every eight days, while his brother, Tulwur Khan, leads out his gang on the roads. They are both very great men, but Jhoulee Khan the Fair is the greatest. He knows every Thug in Bengal, whether on the river or the land.

Q.—Were not some of your family lately hung at ...azeepore?

...Buksh.—Yes. My two brothers Khuda Buksh ... Buksh were hung in September, two years ago. I am the eldest and last.

Q.—And how did you escape?

Imam Buksh.—They were taken in the fact (literally "Lash-ke-uper," upon the bodies,*) but I was taken afterwards at home. They offered to release me on security, and when I was ready to give it, they sent me off to Saugor.†

W. H. SLEEMAN,
Genl. Supt.

* The bodies in this case could not be found I believe by the Magistrate of Ghazeepore, but the evidence was sufficiently clear without them.

† See Appendix—list of River Thugs—W.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES LIBRARY
ACC. No.
EGMORE, MADRAS-600 008

G. H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press.

APPENDIX A.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CAPTAIN SLEEMAN AND MR. STOCKWELL.

Saugor, 7th February, 1833.

DEAR SIR,

I have now before me several private and public letters written by you so long back as 1816 on the subject of Thugs, and as you may be pleased to learn something of the subsequent history of the leading characters whom you then mentioned as being at large and at their "dreadful trade," I take the liberty to enclose a few genealogical tables of the families of some of the approvers now under my charge. Should you not have preserved copies of these letters I shall have much pleasure in forwarding them to you, for I have often referred to them with interest and advantage.

I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in saying that it is to me, and must be to every one who knows any thing of the subject, and feels anxious for the success of an attempt so interesting to humanity, a source of sincere gratification to find you again so unexpectedly placed in a situation where your abilities and former experience are

likely to be of such important advantage. Indeed I may very honestly say, and without any wish to be complimentary to a Gentleman whom I have never had an opportunity of seeing, that I consider your appointment to the Dooab *providential*; and to complete our success all that is wanting seems to me to be your appointment as a Special Commissioner to try all the Thugs arrested in the different districts of the Dooab and the Kingdom of Oude, and health and strength to enable you to get through the Herculean labour. This tribute I pray you to accept from one who has known you only through your repute as a public Officer, and who may perhaps never have an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with you.

My part in the work I consider as an episode in my life. It is a duty to which I have devoted willingly and zealously all the little ability that God has given me; but it is one to which none of us would be led from taste or inclination. It is one requiring the finest abilities, but one to which fine abilities would not from choice be directed. If the protection of life and property be the first duty of Government, never did any object more imperatively call for the application of all its energies than this; and I trust no considerations will induce it to relax, or its public Officers to withhold their cordial co-operation in the work.

Believe me, dear Sir, your's very faithfully,

(Signed) W. H. SLEEMAN.

G. STOCKWELL, ESQ.

Note.—Mr. Stockwell had for some years been Commissioner in Orissa, and his return to the Dooab was to me quite unexpected.

Cawnpore, *24th October*, **1833.**

MY DEAR SIR,

An experiment is about to be made of what can be done with Thug cases in our Courts of Law, for Mr. Wilson's Shawl case will come before me immediately, and we shall see what effect is produced by the result of this trial. I have done what is in me to have the preliminary proceedings indisputably correct—1st, by obviating cavil at my holding a trial while the Sessions Judge is on the spot, which has been done by obtaining the opinion of the Nizamut in favor of my so doing—2ndly, by avoiding a chance that a commitment by Mr. Wilson is not deemed quite legal. He has no letter making him a Joint Magistrate, nor has he been Gazetted as such, while the letter from Government to the Nizamut only speaks of the districts in which he ought *to be* made joint—not that he *has been* so made. This we overcome by getting the Magistrate to join in the commitment without however touching the case, and thus I think we start fair.

Of Wilson I will not pretend to give you any accounts. You are aware of his activity and zeal, and doubtless he keeps you acquainted with his movements and their results. He may too tell you, though he might not tell me and has not, if any thing is done by me or by my subordinates which frustrates his endeavours. And if so you will possibly let me know what does thwart him, but certes he has my anxious wishes for the success of the most important Police measure that has been adopted in my time. May your health so rally and your strength be so renovated that you may remain to superintend that measure to its triumphant conclusion. I can hardly say more of him than that I have heard persons equally unknown

to you and to me, but who have travelled through your districts call down blessings on your head for the security to the lives and property of travellers which had been brought about by your exertions and penetration. This is the sort of praise which must come home to a man's breast, and as I said, the persons knew neither you nor me personally, so it is genuine. I hope you got lists of Thugs sent to you under two separate covers from Futtehghur and Cawnpore.

Believe me, very truly yours,

(Signed) G. STOCKWELL.

To Captain Sleeman, &c. &c.

Cawnpore, 5th November, 1833.

My Dear Sir,

Wilson's commitment came before me at the close of last month. It took me two days to make extracts from his proceedings and five more to take the trial. Of a jury of nine who were called, only six attended, of whom one deserted on the third, another on the fourth day of trial, leaving four by whom the verdict was delivered. Their judgment was more free from bias than that of an English jury, because there were no advocates to lead, nor was there any summing up by me, whence my leaning might have been discovered. At first the business seemed to go against their grain, and to be beyond their belief; but, as point after point was developed, and each fresh head of evidence fitted into that which had gone before, conviction entered their minds. After retiring for an hour into a separate room they returned with a verdict of guilty: they brought in three men guilty of the actual murder, and the same three with

three others guilty of removing the bodies, stabbing and throwing them into a well; and a seventh guilty of being with them, though not at the murder. The nine accused of receiving, sharing and passing the stolen property were also convicted. Of these last I have acquitted and released two. The rest must await the orders of the Nizamut by whom I suppose some will be hanged. But the trial will not yet be submitted, as it came out before me that two of the Jemadars, Rumdeen and Bhugga, had been for three years in the Furruckabad jail on a charge of Thuggee, whence they were released but two months before they set out on this expedition. The papers have been sent for from that Zillah. Should you desire a more detailed account I will send over my notes of the evidence, though notes are rarely useful to any but him by whom they are made, and with them a copy of my address, which will be brief, to the Nizamut when laying my proceedings before them.

As I am about to quit the Dooab, it will be beyond my power to lend that aid to Wilson's operations which I trust they have received in my character of moderator between him and our Magistrates. But I hope the foundation which has been laid by his own good sense and conciliatory manner towards functionaries and people, and the footing on which I have put him with them, will preserve to him all necessary influence. And that it may be rendered efficient, I have to day, in a demi-official to Mr. Macsween, advised that Wilson should be Joint Magistrate in the districts within this and the Allahabad Division. Any particular trials can still be referred to me, if it be so wished, at Moradabad; and in respect to hearing them, there is no objection nor reluctance on my part. I cannot however but think that an arrangement is required for trying the Jumaldahee Thugs whose

depredations are committed in Oude. The venue cannot be changed to our Courts, and Saugor appears to me too distant. Would not the Government instruct the Resident to hold those trials* ?

Believe me, my dear Sir, very truly and faithfully yours,
(Signed) G. STOCKWELL.

To CAPTAIN SLEEMAN, &c. &c.

APPENDIX B.

English proceedings of the Thug trials held at Ghazeepoor and Benares in 1833-34.

To

WELBY JACKSON, ESQUIRE,

Register to the Nizamut Adawlut for the Western Provinces at Allahabad.

SIR,

Court of Sessions of Zillah Ghazeepoor Trial, No. 5, of the Calendar for Sessions of August, 1833.

1. Shewsahae Loll, Gomastah of Persotum Doss Shah, Prosecutors.
2. Musst. Phooleeah,
3. Jhannoe,

Versus.

1. Peer Bukhs Khan,

I herewith transmit to be laid before the Nizamut Adawlut the proceedings upon the Trial, noted in the margin, held at the station of Ghazeepoor on the 24th, 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th days of August, 1833, A. D.

2. There are three Prosecutors—Shewsahae Lall deposes that he is a Gomastah of Persotum Doss Shah, a Muhajun of the city of Benares, by whose directions he, the Prosecutor, purchased a quantity of Kinkaubs

* This has since been done.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACT.—Calendar of Prisoners committed by the Magistrate and Joint Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepoor, to take their Trial before the Session Judge of Zillah Ghazeepoor, at the Sessions for August, 1833.

Number of Calendar.	Number of Prisoners.	Names of the Parties.	Abstract of the charge and the date on which the Crime was committed.	Date of the apprehension of the Prisoners.	EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION. Witnesses to the fact.	Witnesses to [illegible] apprehension of the [illegible]	Witnesses to the Inquest or [illegible]	Witnesses to the confession in the District.	Witnesses to the confession before the Magistrate.	Witnesses to the stolen property and before whom it was found.	Circumstantial evidence.	Witnesses to the bad character of the Prisoners	Abstract of the Examination, ground and date of Commitment for trial.	Names of the Witnesses on the part of the Prisoners. Witnesses for the Defence.	Witnesses to Character.
5		Sewsahoieloll, Gomastah of Persuttumdoss Mohajun, Musst. Foolleeah, heir of Purdill Khan, Jharoo, heir of Buddhoie labourer, *versus*	1st Count. Thuggee, attended with the murder of Poordill Khan and Buddhoie labourer. 2d Count. Murder of Poordill Khan and Buddhoie labourer, 1st April, 1833.	Nos. 1 to 6, 2d Apr. 1833. No. 7, 14th May, 1833. No. 8, 16th June, 1833.	Kurm[illegible]ley Khan.	[illegible] Shaick Oudan, Lalsa, Puran, Gunga.			Nos. 1 to 6, Charug Allie, Rambit Sing, Gunnesspersaud, Moonsub Allie, and Ramsurn Mooktyaur.	Witnesses before whom the stolen property was found— Bekaree Candoo, Degumber Culwar, Ally Bux Shah, Dolum Koiree, Obey Candoo, Nurkoo Chamar, and Raham Ally Noorbaff. Witnesses to identify the stolen property— Sahoie Tailee, Baboo Noorbaff, Ramlotun Raie, and Gous Khan.	Musst. Choheeah, Bussunt Sing, Sunker Gorayte, Sewchurn Candoo, Bhoabul Raie, Hurrie Raie, Mohit Raie, Sewchurn Geer, Omrow Noorbaff, Burrowsah Koiree, Peelooah Noorbaff, Thug Koiree, Autchumbith Sing, Keenoo Sing, Dhyamallie, Jahonllie, Mawjar Allie, Tackul Gorayte, Chintamun Dosad, Bechuck Raie, Parahoo Koiree, Nownidh Koiree, and Lalgulall Kuramut Allie.	No. 7, Tawokul Gorayte, Chintamun Dosad, Beechuck Koiree, Parahoo Koiree, Nownidh Koiree, Shaick Barom, Jharoo, Ujrawul Raie. No. 8, Bucktbullie, and Bandhaje Raie.	Nos. 1 to 6, committed on the evidence of the witnesses and being seized with the stolen property. Nos. 7 and 8, on the evidence of the witnesses and all on the grounds stated in the proceedings held on the 27th July, 1833.	No. 1, Gunga Dobey, and Sookaree Noorbaff. No. 2, Nundoo, Panday, and Busrauj Matho. No. 3, Grauj Noondah, Domah Bugget. No. 4, Deba Raie and Rosee Panday. No. 5, Rambux Panday, and Shaick Fukoorolah. No. 6, Hunsrauj Sing, Ramchurn Sing, Hurchurn Ojah, and Duljet Khan. No. 7, Chamroo Gore and Roopun Raie. No. 8, Mundil Gore and Pirthie Raie.	
	1	Peerbux Khan, son of Russun Khan,													
	2	Kurrimbux Khan, son of Shaick Nurkoo,													
	3	Bechuck Noorbaff, son of Ohayd Noorbaff,													
	4	Khodabux Khan, son of Dowlut Khan,													
	5	Shaick Durbase, son of Shaick Sawdolaw,													
	6	Peeroo Khan, son of Dowlut Khan,													
	7	Shaick Bucktour, son of Shaick Koodrutholah,													
	8	Shaick Aumee, son of Shaick Dussey.													

Zillah Ghazeepoor, the 17th August, 1833.

Seal.

(Signed) E. P. SMITH, *Magistrate.*

(True Extract,)

E. P. SMITH, *Magistrate.*

2. Kurrum Bukhsh Khan,
3. Bechook Noorbaff,
4. Khodabukhs Khan,
5. Sheikh Durvesh,
6. Peeroo Khan,
7. Sheikh Buktour, and
8. Sheikh Ammee.

CHARGE.

1st Count.

Thugge, attended with murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie labourer.

2d Count.

Murder of Purdil, Khan and Buddhaie labourer.

1st April, 1833.

and other costly cloths of Benares manufacture in value about 450 rupees, placed them in a wooden box, sent the box to the Benares Custom House, where he took out a Row-annah, and had the box properly secured with rope and moomjamah, the fastenings being secured by wax bearing the Custom House Seal, entertained Purdil Khan as Peon in charge, and Buddhaie Cooley to carry the box; and upon the 28th March, 1833, corresponding to the 22d Chait, 1240 Fy., sent off the said Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, with directions to deliver the box to the house of Gourdeal Ram and Bunarsee Ram, Muhajuns, residing in the Town of Chuprah, Zillah of Sarun.

He further declares, that the distance between Benares and Chuprah is travelled in six days, but that eighteen days elapsed without his receiving any tidings that the goods had reached Chuprah, or of those to whom he had entrusted them; when upon the nineteenth day, a letter reached him by the Dak fromSungumlall and Bullakeedoss Muhajuns of the Town of Ghazeepoor, acquainting him with the apprehension of a gang of robbers having in their possession considerable property of a nature similar ot that which he, the Prosecutor, had entrusted to Purdil Khan.

That he then repaired to Ghazeepoor, taking with him the Beejuck of the property, and having made known the occasion of his coming to the Magistrate, the property in Court was compared with the Beejuck and found to correspond, and that after inspection he was enabled to

swear to the whole property as being that which by his directions Purdil Khan and Buddhaie took from Benares to carry to Chuprah.

Musst. Phooleah, The wife of Purdil Khan corroborated the circumstance of her husband having been engaged for the trip by Ghous Khan, a Jemadar in the employ of Shewsahae Lall last named, and to her husband having sent her a message on the day he set out, saying he should return in six days. That he never has returned and she now hears he has been murdered; she recognises a sword and a dagger in Court as having been her husband's weapons.

The third Prosecutor, Jhannoo, A Chowdry of Coolies at Benares, corroborates the dispatch of a box by Shewsahae Lall in charge of Purdil Khan, and his having furnished Buddhaie Cooley in virtue of his office, to carry the box. He appears as a prosecutor in consequence of his being Buddhaie's uncle.

Evidence for the Prosecution. 3d.—The facts stated by the Prosecutors, that is the purchase of the property, the taking out a Rowannah at the Benares Custom House, the entertaining of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and the dispatch of the box in their charge, and the identity of the property with that in the Court, is firmly established by the following evidence:

Ramlowtun Raie, Who was employed by Shewsahae Lall to purchase the goods.

Baboo Noorbaff, Who himself manufactured the greater part of the goods, sold them to Shewsahae Lall, and who was present at the purchase of those articles not made by himself.

Suhaie, A tailor in the employ of Shewsahae Lall, who sewed the cloth packing cases, who sewed on the fringes to a number of articles, who assisted

in packing the goods, and who afterward saw the box, with the Custom House seals and moomjamah attached to it.

Ghous Khan, Jemadar of Shewsahae Lall, who engaged Purdil Khan and Buddhaie Cooley, and assisted in packing the box.

4th.—I now proceed to the evidence which is adduced to prove that this property of the Prosecutor Shewsahae Lall was found upon the prisoners.

Sheikh Oudan, a Burkundaz in the Thannah of Bansdee, Deposes that, on the 2d April 1833, he was travelling along the road upon business connected with the Police, in an easterly direction, when just as he was about to enter the village of "Meiree Tal," he met seven men coming from Meiree Tal. That he at once recognised Kurreem Bukhs, Peeroo Khan and Kurrum Alli, having chanced to see them once before, when they were under trial for a former offence; that he spoke to them slightly, and then, passing them, entered the village. That suspecting their purpose, he got together some of the Zemindars and Goraits of Meiree Tal, and gave immediate pursuit; that coming in sight of them about a mile from the village he found they had divided into two parties and taken different roads, one party consisting of Peeroo Khan, No. 6, Sheikh Durveish, No. 5, and Khodah Bukhs Khan, No. 4, having taken a road due west, and the other party of four persons, Peer Bukhs No. 1, Kurreem Bukhs No. 2, Beechook No. 3, and Kurrum Ali having gone by a road in a N. W. direction; that seeing this, he sent Atchumbit Sing aud Lalsa Goraite after the first party, and himself, accompanied by Shewdeal Sing, Keener Sing, Pran and Gunga, pursued the second party, and that he was thus enabled to apprehend the whole of these seven persons, upon four of whom

Peer Bukhs (No. 1) Kurreem Bukhs (No. 2) Beechee (No. 3) and Durveish (No. 5) he found bundles of property.

That he then proceeded with the whole party in the direction of his Thannah, and had reached a Pokeree in Bansdee, when the prisoners entreated for their release, offering him fifty rupees cash, for which one of their party was to be sent, and a piece of Kinkab; that he declined their offers, and lodged them safely at the Thannah, where the property found on them was duly examined, &c.

The whole of the above testimony from the moment that Sheikh Oudan entered Meiree Tal and gave the alarm, till he delivered the prisoners into the custody of the Thannadar is corroborated by the following evidence:

Shewdeal Sing,
Reener Sing,
Atchumbit Sing,
Lalsa Goraite,
Pran Goraite,

resident Zemindars and Gooraits of the village of Meiree Tal, added to which the prisoners* when examined by the Thannadar, and in their subsequent depositions, admitted having the property in their possession, though they attempted to account for that circumstance in a way which will be noticed in the defence.

5th.—Having thus traced the property with which Purdil Khan and Buddhaie set out from Benares to carry to Chuprah, into the possession of the prisoners, I now proceed to the evidence, tending to shew how far Purdil Khan would appear to have reached on his way.

It is to be observed that Purdil Khan having charge of goods liable to pay duties and for which he held a Rowannah of the Benares Custom House, was obliged to present himself and shew his Rowannah at all the Custom House Chowkees on the road. We have accordingly the

* The four prisoners on whom it was found.

evidence of the following persons to the point in question:

Kurramut Ali, Stationed at the Custom House Chowkee Goomtee Mohamah at Patna, to whom Purdil Khan shewed the box and Rowannah, and who took a copy of the Rowannah on the 28th March.

Lalljeelall, Stationed at the Chowkee Bulleah, 31 coss east of Patna on the road to Chuprah, who took a copy of the Rowannah which was presented to him by Purdil Khan; he forgets the date, but from other sources it appears to have been the 31st March.

Bussunt Sing, Stationed at Chowkee Bursund, 2 coss east of Chowkee Balleah on the Chuprah road, who minutely details the person and dress of Purdil Khan, the Cooley, the box with red Moomjamah and seals, his questioning Purdil Khan, who described himself as travelling from Benares to Chuprah, and to whom he assigned a lodging in the house of Shewchurn Candoo for that night (31st.)

Shewchurn Candoo, In whose house at Bursund, Purdil Khan slept.

Sunker Gorait, Of Bursund, who described the person, dress, &c. &c. in a similar manner to Bussunt Sing.

Kurrum Ali, An accomplice to whom, under the provisions of Section III. Regulation X, 1824, a pardon was tendered by the Magistrate,—

Who describes how he and the other eight Prisoners were out on the road in question, in quest of some victims on whom to exercise their profession (Thuggee); that they remained the night of the 30th March under a tree, south of the village of Balleah above-mentioned, the night of the 31st March opposite to and a little south of Bursund, and that on the 1st April, when about 2½ coss from Bursund, they fell in with Purdil Khan and the

Cooley carrying the box, with whom some of them joined company and accompanied them to Murlee Chupra, 6 coss distant from Bursund; that there they all passed the night under a tree at a little distance from the village, and that so early as 3 A. M. on the morning of the 2d April, they all set out and had proceeded but a short distance, when Purdil Khan and Buddhaie were deprived of their lives in the usual way by strangulation; their bodies deposited in a ditch between two gardens near the spot; the box opened and property packed in bundles, and their apprehension at noon the same day near Meiree Tal by Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz.

Connecting this evidence with that to the seizure of the Prisoners at Meiree Tal about noon on this very second of April, a distance of 8 coss west of Murlee Chuprah, we have undoubted proof that Purdil Khan and Buddhaie Cooley appeared at Bulleah and Bursund Chowkies, and slept at the latter place on the 31st March and that the prisoners were apprehended at Meiree Tal proceeding westward and 8 coss from Murlee Chupra by a cross road in an opposite direction on this 2d April,—that consequently Purdil Khan and Buddhaie could not possibly have reached more than one stage beyond Chowkee Bursund when deprived of the property.

6th.—The evidence to the following points has thus been detailed:

1. The purchase and despatch of the property in charge of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie en route to Chupra on the 25th March.

2. The identity of the said property with that in the Court.

3. The seizure of the prisoners on the 2d April, having this property in their possession.

4. Evidences shewing that Purdil Khan could not have reached beyond a day's journey east of Bursund, where he slept on the 31st March.

The fate of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and the circumstances attending the robbery are detailed in the evidence of Kurreem Ali alone, from whose deposition a brief abstract of a part only has been made. It is now however necessary to give it more in detail, as several connecting proofs have been elicited in consequence of the disclosures made by him. But first it is necessary to mention that at the Thannah, and in the first instance before the Magistrate, he made a defence similar to that of the other prisoners, and that it was not until the 6th of May, being one month and four days subsequent to his apprehension, that he gave his evidence upon oath before the Magistrate.

He declares that in the month of Phagoon, the eight prisoners assembled at the house of Khader Bukhs (4), in the village of Tupnee, and set out along the road to Mirzapore in the hope of falling in with some booty. That he, Kurreem Ali, had promised to meet them for the same purpose in the month of Chait, and agreeably to his promise, he in the month of Chait went to the village of Tupnee, and through Musst. Choheeah, a female slave of Khader Bukhs, enquired where he was to meet the gang. That Musst. Azeema, the wife of Khader Bukhs, was ill, and he did not see her, but that she sent him word by Choheeah* that he would meet the gang at the village of Bulleah ; that he set out for Bulleah, and upon the same day, the 30th March, reached Bulleah, where he found the prisoners, and was informed by them that they had been unsuccessful ; that they remained that

* This is corroborated by the evidence of Musst. Choheeah.

night under a tree south of Bulleah ; that the next day they removed to the vicinity of Bursund, where they passed the night of the 31st ; that in the morning of the 1st April they proceeded eastward, and six men had gone ahead, while three of the party, Khader Bukhs (4), Durveesh (5), Peroo Khan (6), sat down by the road side to eat ; that after a while these three persons appeared, having Purdil Khan and the Cooley in company ; that in the act of passing their companions who were smoking by the road side, one of the three, Durveesh (5), falling behind joined them, and told them to come on to Murlee Chupra about dusk in the evening. That they joined company at Murlee Chupra, and took up their lodging under a tree near the village, being the usual resting place for travellers ; that at 3 A. M. of the 2d April, Ammee awoke Purdil Khan, and proposed to proceed, but Purdil Khan, saying it was too early, declined ; that shortly after however the whole party proceeded, and while their companions scattered themselves to a little distance with a view to prevent the approach of strangers Khader Bukhs (No. 4), Durveesh (No. 5), Buktour (No. 7), and Ammee (No. 8), who continued near to Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, having seated them to ease themselves, took advantage of the opportunity and strangled them ; that Ammee (No. 8), threw the phausee, and Durveesh (No. 5), pulled out the legs of Purdil Khan, while Khader Bukhs (4), threw the phausee round Buddhaie's neck, and Buktour (7), held his legs ; that the same persons then removed each their own victims and placed the bodies in a ditch between two Baggechas ; that Kurreem Bukhs (2), took up the box, and Khader Bukhs the dagger and sword, belonging to Purdil Khan, and they all of them then proceeded westward, in the direction of Peeroo Khan's house by a cross road ; that when

they had reached a distance of about one coss, they by Ammee's desire went into a field, and broke open the box, where they divided the contents into four bundles, one a piece being given to Durveesh (5), Kurreem Bukhs (2), Buctour (7), and Ammee (8); that after having buried the pieces of the box and the strings and red moomjamah in the field, they again set out, and when near to Meiree Tal, Buktour (7), and Ammee (8), proposed to get home by a shorter route, and giving their bundles to Peer Bukhs and Beechook, separated from them when just entering Meiree Tal. That the gang then went up to the Tukkeah of Allee Bukhs Shah Faqueer, with whom Peeroo Khan (No. 6), deposited the sword belonging to the deceased; that going onward, they met Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz outside Meiree Tal, who suspecting them, and knowing some of them to be bad characters, got a party of Zemindars and Goraits from Meiree Tal, and apprehended them; that they offered large bribes to Sheikh Oudan, but he would not listen to them, and lodged them at the Thannah; he also declared that the dagger had been taken from Khader Bukhs by Sheikh Oudan.

The evidence of Kurreem Ali presented several peculiar circumstances, each susceptible of independent proof, and upon the truth of which the credit due to that evidence would mainly depend, such as the finding of the sword, the dagger, the pieces of box and appendages, and the bodies, in the places indicated by Kurreem Ali.

The Magistrate at once observed the importance of investigating these points, and lost no time in deputing the Darogah of the Jail, an active and intelligent Officer, to make these investigations, accompanied by Kurreem Ali. The result of this enquiry substantiating more or

less the above points I shall now detail from the evidence examined before this Court.

Sword.

Allee Bukhs Shah, Faqueer, Describes the Sword being deposited with him by Peeroo Khan (6), on the day when the prisoners were seized. He also identifies the said Peeroo Khan and swears to the recognition of prisoners, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, as well as Kureem Ali, saying they were standing near his Tukkeah when Peeroo Khan begged him to keep the Sword.

Dullum Koeree, Inhabitant of Meiree Tal, deposes to the same facts as Ali Bukh Shah, but even in a more particular way, recognising all the prisoners, save 7 and 8, describing what bundles he saw with each, his evidence in this respect tallying with that at the Thannah respecting the search of the prisoners.

The Sword was found in the Chupper of the Tukkeah.

The Dagger

Was found by search in the presence of witnesses, in the Petarah of Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz, who accounts for the circumstance by stating, that when he apprehended the prisoners, he espied the dagger in the kummer of Khader Bukhs (4), and fearing lest that prisoner in dispute should attempt to do him an injury, he took it from him, and having put it away in his petarah, and being instantly sent upon other Police duties, he had never thought again of the Dagger till it was found in his petarah.

The dagger is a shabby article, and worth scarcely one rupee; some of the witnesses who assisted to seize

the prisoners also depose to seeing the dagger in the kummer of Khader Bukhs.

Pieces of Box—Rope with Seals—Red Moomjamah.

Nerkoo Chumar, Ruhum Alli Noorbaff,

Who reside in the adjoining village, depose to being called upon to attend the Darogah; that upon reaching the spot, a person whom they identify as Kurreem Ali, took them all to a field and by his directions they began to dig the ground, when after a little they found the rope with the seals and red moomjamah; that again he took them to another field where a little below the surface they found some pieces of a box; that the first field was Beharie's, and the second field belonged to Reghar; that both fields adjoin each other, with the road running between them.

The Bodies.

Kurreem Ali, it appears, pointed out the exact spot corresponding with his evidence where the bodies had been deposited, but they were not found there. Upon this point—

Bhoabul Raie, Hurrie Raie, Moheet Raie, Sewchurn Geer, Omrao Noorbaff and Barosa Koiree,

Who reside in the surrounding villages, depose to having heard that two bodies of murdered travellers were lying between the gardens of Thakoorduth Missir and Gunnaishduth Missir, for some days about the time in question, but they either know not or are averse to disclose the manner in which they were removed. The latter seems the most probable.

By a Roobekaree of the Magistrate under date the 27th July 1833, it would appear that after a full enquiry

he considered this point to be established and punished by imprisonment and fine, those who had abetted the concealment of the bodies, instead of reporting the circumstance to the Police.

The Defence. The prisoners deny the charge in toto, and account for having the stolen property in their possession in the following manner—that upon the day on which they were seized, it chanced that they were passing Meiree Tal, some upon one errand, some upon another, but without connection with each other, and that upon their reaching the well at Meiree Tal, Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz laid hold of them apparently as beggars or coolies, and ordered them to assist in carrying some bundles, lying by the side of the well, to the Thannah; that they objected to this coercive measure without effect, and ultimately were forced to obey, and that when they reached the Thannah they were denounced as Thugs, and saddled with the property as proof of their guilt.

The prisoners have not attempted to prove this story, but they called witnesses principally to establish their good conduct.

Their evidence however far from establishing their claim to good character, represnt them as men who have no ostensible livelihood, and in corroboration of the character assigned to them, mention their frequent absence from their homes for unknown purposes.

Such is the evidence brought by the prisoners Nos. 2, 3, 7 and 8; Khader Bukhs No. 4, and Peeroo Khan No. 6 are own brothers. The former brought two witnesses, one of whom denies all knowledge of him, and the other hears he is a bad character, having been apprehended twice or thrice before. The latter brought two witnesses to prove he was a servant in an Indigo Factory near to

Meiree Tal, and had incurred the enmity of the inhabitants in the discharge of his duty as a peadah; one of these witnesses has been 10 years, the other 6 years a servant of the factory. They positively swear that the prisoner (No. 6,) never has been a servant of the factory during the above period.

The Futwah Of the Law Officer is to the following effect; that from the corroboration of the several circumstances in the evidence given by Kurreem Ali, such as the finding of the pieces of the box and the cords bearing the seals of the Custom House at Benares, in spots pointed out by that witness, as well as the finding of the sword in the possession of Allee Bukhs Faqueer, with whom Peeroo Khan had placed it, and the dagger with Sheikh Oudan, both of which latter circumstances had been previously narrated by the said witnesses; also, from the prisoners having been apprehended together with the property as well as, from the story told by the prisoners, "that Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz put the property on them by force," being quite unworthy of credit, and as it would appear that the prisoners offered large bribes to the said Sheikh Oudan to induce him to release them; also from the evidence that the prisoners are bad characters, have been before apprehended and obtain a livelihood by highway robberies, &c.; from all these circumstances, there is strong presumptive proof that the prisoners did, in concert with each other, murder Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and rob and plunder the property in their charge now in Court; and further, that from the evidence of Kurreem Ali, the declaration of Beechook, and evidence of Lalsa Gorait, the prisoners Buktour (No. 7,) and Aumee (No. 8,) are proved to have been aiders or abettors in the said murder and robbery; that the prisoners are liable

to akoobut either by lengthened imprisonment or by sentence of death against the whole or a portion of the prisoners.

Judge's opinion. After a perusal of the evidence for the prosecution, which is so arranged as to shew the gradual progress of the investigation and its tendency to substantiate the charge, I feel no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the prisoners are all of them professed Thugs, and that the prisoners, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, did actually murder Purdil Khan and Buddhaie Cooley, by strangulation in the manner usually made use of by Thugs; plundered and carried off the property with which the murdered persons were entrusted, and within a few hours after, and not twelve miles from the spot, were apprehended, having the plundered property, and a weapon of the murdered Purdil Khan in their possession while hurrying in a straight line from the spot where the murders were perpetrated to the house of Peeroo Khan (No. 6), which is situated about a mile beyond Meiree Tal.

Respecting the guilt of the prisoners, I do not see any reasonable doubt to be urged in their favor; the evidence of an accomplice whose very act of deserting and denouncing his companions is one of treachery dictated by the desire of self-preservation, is ever viewed with suspicion; but in the present case, the evidence of Kurreem Ali would scarcely be necessary to substantiate their guilt, for there would still remain a mass of proof sufficient to convict the prisoners.

To be circumspect however, and not attach any further credence to that evidence than so far as its truth is established beyond dispute by subsequent investigation, we may add to the proofs already obtained when Kurreem Ali made his disclosure,—1st. the finding of the

pieces of the box, the cords having the Custom House seals, and the moomjamah cover; 2d, the finding of the sword with the Fuqueer at Meiree Tal; 3d, the finding of the dagger with Sheikh Oudan, both of which weapons belonged to Purdil Khan; and 4th, the result of an investigation, which shews that two bodies were lying for some days on the spot pointed out by Kurreem Ali. All these are facts elicited from the evidence of Kurreem Ali, which, while they tend greatly to strengthen the proofs against the prisoners in question, undoubtedly shew, if well considered, that the evidence of Kurreem Ali may be depended on as truth, an opinion to which the evidence of the prosecution, corroborating the details of that evidence in other respects lends additional weight.

Had Kurreem Ali made the disclosure immediately after the arrival of the prisoners at Ghazeepoor, there is little doubt that the bodies would have been found, as indicated; but as there was a lapse of one month and six days between the perpetration of the murders and the arrival of the Darogah with Kurreem Ali on the spot, there could be little hope that the bodies would be left undisturbed so long in such a frequented place. There appears little doubt that the Zemindars, having omitted to report the circumstance to the Police from a dread of the inconveniences of a visit from the Police, particularly at a season when every one was busy cutting their crops, removed the bodies, and afterwards when the Darogah did arrive, used every means in their power, though without success, to prevent their own neglect being made known. For fuller details on this head, I beg to refer the Court to the Roobekaree of the Magistrate, dated the 8th May 1833 and 27th July 1833.

After a full consideration of the case, I am therefore constrained to give my opinion that the prisoners Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are guilty of the heinous crime laid to their charge, and with reference to the prevalence of Thuggee in the Chuprah, Goruckpoor and *Ghazeepoor Districts, to neither of which do the prisoners seem to be strangers, to the many proofs exhibited in this case that the prisoners have no honest means of living, but subsist by spoliation and destruction of their fellow creatures, to the impunity which in ninety-nine cases in a hundred attends the perpetration of this insidious and most cruel mode of robbery and murder, which calls for exemplary punishment, and an example such as shall strike terror into the minds of those who pursue a similar course, I recommend that the prisoners 1 to 6 be sentenced to death, and suffer the full penalty of their crimes.

With reference to the two remaining prisoners Sheikh Buktour (7), and Ammee (8), their case requires a separate consideration.

In their case, two of the most important of the proofs against the prisoners 1 to 6 are wanting, for neither were these two prisoners apprehended on the 2nd April, the day of the murders, nor was there any part of the property found in their possession.

I shall therefore carefully note down the proofs that have been adduced against them and then give my opinion. It has already been shewn that Sheikh Oudan Burkundaz, with the assistance of the Zemindars and Gorait of Meiree Tal, succeeded in apprehending the whole of the

* A list of cases ascertained by that Police of this District between the year 1826 and the present year: 1 of Thuggee with Murder, 2 of Highway Robberies, is annexed.

gang of seven men. Not one escaped. The first intimation therefore by which these two prisoners were implicated was Kurreem Ali's evidence upon the 8th May, prior to which their names had not been even mentioned. To begin therefore with his evidence, it has already been recorded that—

Kurreem Ali, Includes Buktour and Ammee as having accompanied the gang up to Mirzapoor, and as having continued with them till after the perpetration of this offence, in which he gives both of them a prominent character, the one (Buktour) as having pulled Buddhaie's legs, while Khadar Bukhs threw the phansee round his neck, and Ammee as having cast the phansee round the neck of Purdil Khan, while Durveish held his legs. We are now to enquire how far Kurreem Ali's evidence, so far as it relates to these two prisoners, has been substantiated by other testimony.

1. Before the Magistrate—

Musst. Chohieah, A female slave belonging to Khadar Bukhs (4), corroborated Kurreem Ali's evidence as to the departure of the gang from Khadar Bukhs' house in Phagoon, and mentioned these two prisoners by name as having accompanied them.

In this Court, when the evidence of this witness was examined, there appeared the usual intimation that she had been tampered with, a circumstance not to be wondered at when her dependence on one of the prisoners is considered.

The existence of such an influence manifested itself not in a total denial of her former evidence, but in such omissions as rendered it nugatory; however no sooner was she reminded of her former testimony, than she readily admitted its truth, and gave up her previous intention to screen the prisoner.

* Lalsa Gorait 2, Who assisted in apprehending the prisoners 1 to 6 at Meiree Tal, declared that while occupied in securing the prisoners, he observed two persons standing at a short distance, who then went away. He subsequently identified Buktour and Ammee as the persons in question.

His evidence however is inadmissible, for when examined before the Magistrate upon the 9th April, he did not mention the circumstance, although he was questioned whether there were any others with the seven men then apprehended; in short he did not mention it till after Kurreem Ali's evidence had been taken, and Buktour and Ammee had been seized.

Beechook 3, Prisoner (3), When first examined touching the property found in his possession, declared it had been given to him by two persons; subsequently when Buktour and Ammee were brought to the Magistrate's Court, he was re-examined, and then declared that the property had been given to him by these two prisoners Buktour and Ammee.

In this deposition of Beechook is a corroboration of Kurreem Ali's evidence, who had previously deposed "that near Meiree Tal where Buktour and Ammee were about to leave their companions and get home by a shorter road this Buktour gave his bundle to Beechook,

Tow[illegible] Gorait of Mouzah Peperah, Chintamun ditto of ditto, Beechook Raie Rajpoot of ditto, Purdan Koiree, Nonid Koiree of ditto,	Witnesses for the Prosecution and Evidence of Buktour's village,	Corroborate Kurreem Ali's evidence with reference to Buktour (No. 7), having been absent from his village from the month of Phagoon.
and Chumroo Gour of ditto, Roopun Rae Rajpoot of ditto,	Witnesses called by Buktour,	

5. In like manner Mun[illegible] and Pirthee Raie, whom Ammee called to exculpate himself, both declare that

Ammee was absent from his home, on what errand they know not, from the month of Phagoon.

6. All the witnesses called by these two prisoners, as well as some of the witnesses to the prosecution, denounce them as men of bad character, without ostensible means of livelihood, absenting themselves from their homes, and generally considered from their having been before apprehended by the Police, to be dangerous.

I have thus enumerated the proofs exhibited against Buktour and Ammee. My opinion is as follows:

Judge's opinion. The degree of proof against these two prisoners for reasons already stated is in its nature less conclusive than that against the prisoners Nos. 1 to 6.

I have already stated the strong grounds which exist for inducing me to attach credit to the whole testimony of Kurreem Ali, for after a careful investigation not a single circumstance narrated by him has been invalidated, while upon many essential points it has been singularly corroborated.

In the case of these two prisoners, their absence from their homes from a period coincident with that stated by Kurreem Ali as that in which the gang set out, their notoriously bad character, their former apprehensions, and general conduct in life, corresponding with what would be the conduct and habits of men engaged in Thuggee, is established, their own witnesses whom they brought to the defence, assisting powerfully to produce this impression.

I would further observe, that if Kurreem Ali had, causelessly and to gratify some former enmity, included them in his evidence, they would not have failed to plead such in extenuation and exculpation.

Taking the evidence of Kurreem Ali, Musst. Choo-heeah and the witnesses for the defence, I consider it

established that Buktour and Ammee did accompany the other prisoners in their going forth to commit robbery on this occasion, that there is strong presumption that they aided and abetted in the perpetration of the offence charged, and that there is full proof that both the prisoners are bad characters and robbers by profession.

I recommend that the prisoners Buktour and Ammee be imprisoned for life with labors and irons.

Recommends the zealous conduct of the Magistrate to the favorable notice of the Court.

I cannot conclude this address, until I have noticed to the Court, the unwearied assiduity, patience, and activity displayed by **Mr. E. P. Smith** the Magistrate, in conducting the voluminous investigation requisite to the success of the indictment in this important case, which I consider the more exemplary in this Officer, since in his double capacity of Collector and Magistrate, he has such a multiplicity of business to encounter.

Rewards to the Sherishtadar, Darogah and Sheikh Oudan.

To the Sheristadar of the Criminal Court, and to the Darogah of the Jail, whom the Magistrate particularly recommends for a suitable reward, which he deems their activity and able services to have merited, I have awarded each the sum of fifty rupees, with a Purwannah expressive of the sense entertained of their conduct.

To Skeikh Oudan, whose presence of mind and tact in apprehending the whole gang, and integrity in having resisted the large offers made to him by the prisoners is alike conspicuous, I have ordered one hundred rupees to be paid, recommending him, if properly qualified, to the favorable notice of the Magistrate for promotion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. W SMITH,

Officiating Sessions Judge.

Zillah Ghazeepoor, the 17*th Sept.* 1833.

To

EDWARD PEPLOE SMITH, Esq.

Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepoor.

SIR,

I herewith transmit for your information and guidance copy of the proceedings of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut under date the 28th September, 1833, held on the trial of Peer Bukhs Khan and others charged with Thuggee, attended with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, together with a copy of the Futwa of their Law Officer on the said trial, and request you will call the prisoners before you and make them acquainted with the sentence passed upon them.

2d. The usual warrant is herewith forwarded, together with a copy of the letter from the Register to the Nizamut Adawlut, forwarding the above proceedings.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. W. SMITH,

Officiating Sessions Judge.

Zillah Ghazeepoor, the 4th October, 1833.

To

The Sessions Judge of Zillah Ghazeepoor.

SIR,

Nizamut Adawlut Western Provinces.
Present—
W. Ewer, Esq. Offg. Judge, and
A. J. Colvin, Esq. Judge.

I am directed by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut for the Western Provinces, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you dated the 17th instant, with the proceedings held on the trial of Peer Bukhs Khan and others charged with Thuggee and Murder, and to transmit to you the accompanying extract from the

proceedings of the Court of this date, for your information and guidance, together with the copy of the Futwa of their Law Officer on the said trial.

2d. The Court desire that you will issue your warrant to the Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepoor to carry the sentences passed upon the prisoners into execution, instructing him at the same time to call the prisoners before him and to make them acquainted with the sentences passed upon them.

3d. You will direct the Magistrate to order his Police Officers to be careful that the bodies of Peer Bukhs Khan (1), Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), Beechook Noorbaff (3), Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), Sheikh Durveish (5), and Peeroo (6), be not removed by their friends or by any other persons.

4th. You are requested to direct the Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepoor to deliver to Sheikh Oodan Burkundaz an additional reward of 200 rupees, and one of 10 rupees each to the Chokedars of Meiree Tal, who assisted in the apprehension of the prisoners, viz. Lal Sah, Pran and Gunga.

5th. The Court observe that you have omitted to mention the age of the prisoners in the heading of the case, as well as to unite with wax and the seal of the Court, the ends of the string on which the papers are filed; you are requested to attend strictly on these points, to the Rules laid down in the Circular Order of the 16th July, 1830.

6th. The Court have much pleasure in remarking the judicious manner in which this trial has been conducted by you, and have taken measures for bringing it to the notice of the Government; they have at the same time, called the attention of the Government to the activity and assiduity evinced by Mr. E. P. Smith in the inves-

tigation previous to trial, which appears to the Court highly creditable to that Officer.

7th. The original proceedings of the Magistrate are returned under a separate cover.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WELBY JACKSON, *Register.*

Allahabad, the 28th Sept. 1833.

Allahabad, 28th Sept. 1833.

N. A. W. P. At a Court of Nizamut Adawlut for the Western Provinces held at Allahabad,

PRESENT:

W. EWER, ESQ, *Offg. Judge,*

and

A. J. COLVIN, ESQ. *Judge.*

Read the following letter from the Sessions Judge of Ghazeepoor, the proceedings held on the trial of Peer Bukhs Khan (1), son of Rustum Khan, Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), son of Nurkoo, Beechook Noorbaff (3), son of Ahayd Noorbaff, Khoda Bukhs (4), son of Dowlut Khan, Sheikh Durveish (5), son of Sheikh Sawdoola, Peeroo Khan (6), son of Dowlut Khan, Sheikh Buktour (7), son of Sheikh Koodrutoollah, and Sheikh Ammee (8), son of Sheikh Dussy, charged in the first count with Thuggee, attended with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and in the second count with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and the Futwa of the Law Officer of this Court thereon.

Nos. 90 to 92.

Zillah Ghazeepoor —No. 5, of the Calendar for the Sessions of August, 1833.

The Court having duly considered the proceedings held on the trial of Peer Bukhs Khan (1), Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), Beechook Noorbaff (3), Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), Sheikh Durveish (5), Peeroo Khan (6), Sheikh Buktour (7), and Sheikh Ammee (8), charged in the 1st count with Thuggee, attended with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie and in the 2d count with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and the Futwa of their Law Officer on the said trial pass the following sentence:

The Futwa of the Law Officer of the Nizamut Adawlut convicts the prisoners Peerbux Khan (1), Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), Beechook Noorbaff (3), Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), Sheikh Durveish (5), Peeroo Khan (6), Sheikh Buktour (7), and Sheikh Ammee (8), on strong presumption of the crime laid to their charge, and declares them liable to discretionary punishment by Akoobut-i-shudeed, extending to death by Seeasut.

The Court convict the prisoners Peer Bukhs Khan (1), Kurreem Buksh Khan (2), Beechook Noorbaff (3), Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), Sheikh Durveish (5) and Peeroo Khan (6), of the crime charged against them, and Sheikh Buktour (7) and Sheikh Ammee (8), of aiding and abetting them, and seeing no circumstances in favor of the prisoners Peer Bukhs Khan (1), Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), Beechook Noorbaff (3), Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), Sheikh Durveish (5), and Peeroo Khan (6), to render them proper objects of mercy, sentence the said Peer Bukhs Khan (1), son of Rustum Khan, Kurreem Bukhs Khan, (2), son of Nurkoo, Beechook Noorbaff (3). son of Ahoyd Noorbaff, Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), son of Dowlut Khan, Sheikh Durveish (5), son of Sheikh Sawdoola, and

Peeroo Khan (6), son of Dowlut Khan, to suffer death by being hanged by the neck until they are dead, and order that their bodies be afterwards exposed upon gibbets at the spot where the murder was committed, or as near to it as circumstances may admit; and Sheikh Buktour, son of Koodruttoollah, and Sheikh Ammee, son of Sheikh Dussy, to imprisonment, with labor for life, in the Jail at Allypoor.

Ordered, that the original proceedings of the Magistrate be returned through the Sessions Judge.

(Signed) W. EWER, *Officiating Judge.*

(Signed) A. J. COLVIN, *Judge.*

(True Extract,)

(Signed) WELBY JACKSON, *Register.*

(True Copies,)

(Signed) C. W. SMITH,

Officiating Sessions Judge.

Office of the Session Judge of Zillah Ghazeepoor, Trial No. 5 *of the Sessions for the month of August* 1833, *and Case No.* 5 *of the Magistrate's Calendar for the month of August* 1833.

To E. PEPLOE SMITH, Esquire,

Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepoor.

Whereas at a Jail Delivery of Zillah Ghazeepoor for the August Session of 1833, holden at Ghazeepoor on the 24th, 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th days of the month of August in the year 1833, Peer Bukhs Khan, (No. 1) Kurreem Bukhs Khan (No. 2) Bechook Noorbaf (3) Khoda Bukhs Khan (4) Sheikh Durveish (5) Peeroo Khan

(6) having been convicted of Thuggee attended with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and sentenced by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut Western Provinces, to suffer death by being hanged by the neck until they are dead, after which their bodies to be exposed upon a gibbet, as near to the spot where the offence was committed as circumstances may admit; it is hereby ordered that execution of the said sentence be made and done upon the said Peer Bukhs Khan, (1) son of Rustum Khan, Kurreem Bukhs Khan, son of Nerkoo, (2) Bechook Noorbaf, son of Ohayd Noorbaf, (3) Khoda Bukhs Khan, son of Dowlut Khan, (4) Sheikh Durveish, son of Sheikh Sawdoola (5) and Peeroo Khan, son of Dowlut Khan, (6) on or before the tenth day of the month of October 1833 A. D., and that you do return this warrant to me with an endorsement attested by your official seal and signature, certifying the manner in which the sentence has been executed, as commanded by the Regulations enacted by the Governor General in Council and now in force. Herein fail not.

Given under my hand and seal of office, this fourth day of October, in the year 1833.

Judge's Seal. (Signed) C. W. SMITH,
Officiating Session Judge.

I hereby certify, that the sentence of death passed on Peer Bukhs Khan (1), son of Rustum Khan, Kurreem Bukhs Khan (2), son of Nerkoo, Bechook Noorbaff (3), son of Obyed, Khoda Bukhs Khan (4), son of Dowlut Khan, Sheikh Durveish (5), son of Sheikh Sawdoola, and Peeroo Khan (6), son of Dowlut Khan, by the Nizamut Adawlut, has been duly executed, and that the said persons were accordingly hung by the neck till they were dead, at the Town of Ghazeepore, on Thursday the 10th of October 1833. I further certify, that the bodies of the

said persons were afterwards conveyed to the place where the crime of which they were convicted, was committed, and there suspended on gibbet.

Given under my hand and the official seal of this Court, this 16th October 1833.

(Signed) E. P. SMITH,
Magistrate.

Magistrate's Seal.

Court of the Sessions Judge of Ghazeepore for the month of August 1833, *case No.* 5 *of the Magistrate's Calendar for the August Sessions of* 1833.

To E. P. SMITH, ESQUIRE,
Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepore.

Sheikh Buktour and Sheikh Ammee, To be imprisoned with labor for life in the Jail at Allypore.

Whereas at a Jail Delivery of Ghazeepore for the Zillah Ghazeepore, holden at Ghazeepore on the 24th, 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th days of the month of August, in the year 1833, Sheikh Bucktour, son of Koodruthollah (7), and Sheikh Ammee, son of Sheikh Dussy (8), having been convicted of aiding and abetting in a case of Thuggee, attended with the murder of Purdil Khan and Buddhaie, and sentenced by the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut Western Provinces, to imprisonment with labor for life in the Jail at Allipore, it is hereby ordered that execution of the said sentence be made and done upon the said Sheikh Bucktour, son of Koodrutollah, and Sheikh Ammee, son of Sheikh Dussy, without delay, as commanded by the Regulations, and that you do return this warrant when

completely executed, with an endorsement attested by your official seal and signature, certifying the manner in which the sentence has been carried into execution. Herein fail not.

Given under my hand and the seal of this Court, this fourth day of October, in the year 1833.

(Signed) C. W. SMITH,
Officiating Session Judge.

Judge's Seal.

Sentence explained to the prisoners herein named (Sheikh Bucktour and Sheikh Ammee), this 7th day of October 1833.

(Signed) E. P. SMITH,
Magistrate.

To E. P. SMITH, Esquire,
Magistrate of Zillah Ghazeepore.

Sir,

N. A. W. P.
Present—
C. T. Sealy,
M. H. Turnbull,
W. Ewer, *Offg.*
A. J. Colvin,
Esquires.
Judges.

I am directed by the Court to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of a letter under date the 14th instant, received from the Secretary to Government Judicial Department.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WELBY JACKSON,
Register.

Allahabad, the 25th Oct. 1833.

(No. 1998.)

To W. B. JACKSON, Esq.

Register of the Nizamut Adawlut in the Western Provinces at Allahabad.

Sir,

Judicial Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you dated the 28th ultimo, with its enclosures, and to request that you intimate to Mr. E. P. Smith and Mr. C. W. Smith, that the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council has noticed with approbation the creditable and judicious manner in which they conducted the proceedings in their respective departments connected with the trial of Peer Buksh and others for Thuggee.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. MACSWEEN,

Secy. to Government.

Council Chamber, the 14th Oct. 1833.

(True Copy,)

(Signed) WELBY JACKSON,

Register.

To W. JACKSON, Esq.

Register to the Nizamut Adawlut,

Allahabad.

Sir,

Court of Session Judge Zillah Benares. Trials, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 of the Calendar for the January Session of 1834.

I transmit herewith to be laid before the Nizamut Adawlut, the proceedings in three trials noted in the margin, held at the station of Benares from the 18th, to the 21st of February, 1834.

Government versus Shamsherah, son of a father unknown, aged 25 years.

Bukus, son of Meer Ali or Bonolla, aged 32 years.

Oozurah, son of Jeetoo, aged 30 years.

Meher Ali, son of Gholam Ali, aged 40 years.

Asmut, son of Beehoo, aged 30 years.

CHARGE.

For being privy to and concerned in the murder by strangulation (Thuggy) of a traveller, name unknown.

2d. Charge, ditto of two travellers, names unknown.

3d. Charge, ditto of three travellers, names unknown.

Futwah Jageer.

The following is an abstract of the case:—

The Prisoners are Thugs and were concerned in three expeditions during the month of Jeit 1240 fuslee, corresponding to part of June and July, 1833, in which six persons were murdered.

The Thanadar of Juggut Gunge with the Foujdaree Nazir, and the spies Goplah and Bhuggoo went to Raja-ka-Tullao described as a halting place of the prisoners and others, who were proved to have purchased various articles of food from the grocers' shops, and to have slept there. Towards morning they took their departure accompanied by a Mossulman traveller, and, leaving the high road at Sarai Mohun to the right, followed a path-way for about a mile, where having found a convenient place they strangled the traveller and threw his body into a well. The Thanadar and his party proceeded to the well which was pointed out, and on examining the Goraits of the neighbouring village, it appeared that there had been a body taken out in the month of Jeit, which had been concealed by the Zemindar's orders all day in some sugar canes, and at night thrown into the Sambhar Nullah; some bones were found in the nullah which were declared to be human, and supposed to be those of the murdered traveller.

The second Thuggy expedition occurred in the jurisdiction of the Kilia-Khonah Thannah. The shop-

keepers there sold spices, &c. to some of the Thugs who passed the night at the Dhurm Salah of Bukt-Pooree at Kupuldhara. There were about five and twenty Thugs and two Mussulmen travellers with them with three bullocks. They all left before day-break and having proceeded about a mile towards the Ganges, the two travellers were strangled and their bodies thrown into the river.

The third Thuggy excursion took place in Huroah Thannah's jurisdiction. Three persons were strangled and the bodies thrown into Hurdoo Dhobey's well, in searching which three skulls, several human bones and a pair of shoes, the latter evidently a sepoy's were discovered.

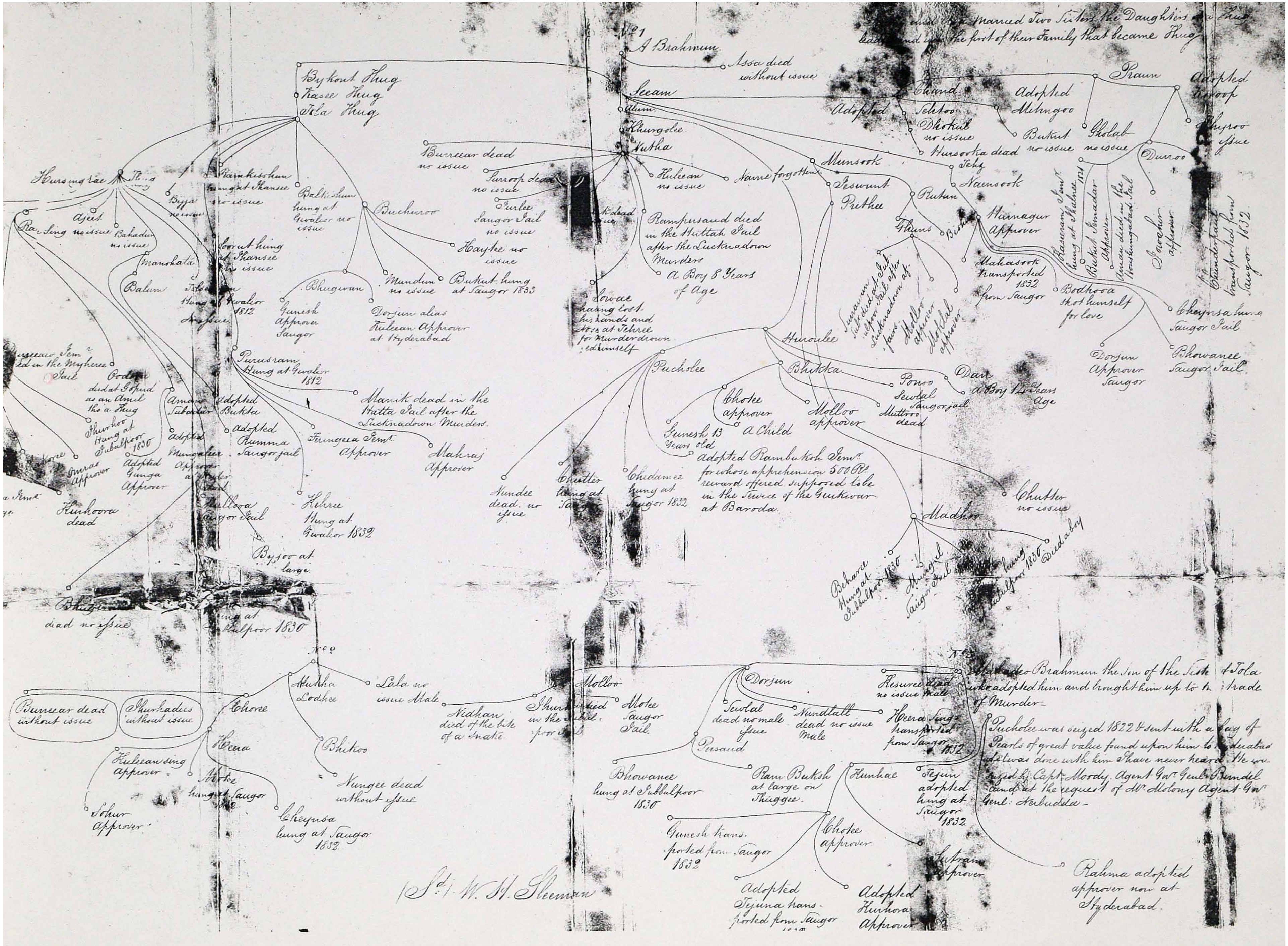
As the atrocious crime of "Phansegare or Thuggy" is fortunately very uncommon in this district, and no instance has occurred during the periods I have been resident at Benares, I shall submit for the Court's consideration the evidence of two of the witnesses, and likewise the confession of the prisoner Shumsherah, which last was given before the Magistrate, and affords perhaps a clearer insight into their proceedings.

The first witness to the fact in each of these cases is Bhuggoo; his evidence, however, is so contradictory and agrees so baldly with the deposition given before the Magistrate, that I prefer sending the examination of the second witness Kadir Khan, a Patan, son of Jumum Khan, inhabitant of Moujah Punnah, Perganah Moneah, Zillah Patna, aged forty-three years, formerly a cultivator, but for the last twenty-one years a Thug by profession.

In the month of Augun, 1840, fuslee, Shumsherah, Oozerah, Moradun, Bukus, Asmut, Mehar Ali and myself went on a Thuggy expedition to the westward, and reached the "Oude" territory. At "Chand Per-

taubpoor" we met Chuta Thug in company with a traveller who was afterwards strangled and eleven rupees with two or four cloths found on him. We journeyed on to Allahabad, and thence eastward. Near "Burount" we met Goplah Beekah, and nine other Thugs, and they accompanied us to Mirza Morad's Serai. There we found Mohur Singh, a Jemadar of Thugs, with ten others whose names I do not remember. We all went on together and rested at night near the temple at Rajah-ka-Tullao. On the road we met a traveller whom Mohur Singh entered into conversation with and persuaded to join our party. At the last quarter of the night we renewed our march and quitting the high road near Serai, Mohur followed a pathway for about half a coss, and strangled the traveller. Seven rupees, with two or four cloths, were taken, and Goury and Mehar Ali threw the corpse into a well.

After walking some distance in the direction of Benares we overtook two Mossulmen travellers with three bullocks. They went in with us to our halting place the Dhurm Salah, at Kupuldharah. Towards daybreak we departed, and about a mile off near the banks of the Ganges, Mohur Singh and Goury strangled the travellers. We found on them five rupees, a sword, and two or three pieces of cloths. Mohur Singh took all and drove the bullocks on before us. Our people threw the bodies into the river. After taking some refreshment we proceeded to "Sydpoor." There "Salaroo," a Burkundaz, recognized Mohur Singh, who in consequence gave him five rupees. The three bullocks were sent by Mohur Singh to his home. From "Sydpoor" we went to Kytee, and the next day to Rajghaut. Very early the following morning, we proceeded towards the west. It was then the month of Jeit, and the period of the *Ghazy-meean* festival. When we reached a tank we found two Sepoys and a Bearer sit-



married Two Sisters the Daughters ... Thug
the first of their Family that became Thug
No 1
A Brahmun
Assa died without issue
Bykont Thug
Kasee Thug
Tola Thug
Seeam
Alum
Khurgolee
Nutha
Praun
Adopted
Mihngoo
Adopted Sroop
Sehtoo
Dhokul no issue
Hursooka dead
Bukut no issue
Gholab no issue
Durroo
Munsook
Tehy
Naensook
Burreear dead no issue
Surroop dead no issue
Purlee Saugor Jail no issue
Huleean no issue
Name forgotten
Jeswunt
Prithee
Rutun
Bishun
Hunnagur Approver
Rampursaud died in the Huttah Jail after the Lucknadown Murders
A Boy 8 Years of Age
Lowae having lost his hands and Nose at Jehree for Murder drowned himself
Mahasook transported 1832 from Saugor
Bodhoa shot himself for love
Cheynsa hung Saugor Jail
Bhowanee Saugor Jail
Dorjun Approver Saugor
Mollo Approver
Mohlal approver
Hursing rae Thug
Ajeet no issue
Rae Sing no issue
Bahadur no issue
Ramkisshun hung at Jhansee no issue
Bijya no issue
Balkishun hung at Gwalior no issue
Buchuroo
Haytee no issue
Bukut hung at Saugor 1833
Mundun no issue
Bhugwan
Gunesh Approver Saugor
Dorjun alias Huleean Approver at Hyderabad
Soorut hung at Jhansee no issue
Manohata
Balum
hung at Gwalior 1812
Purusram hung at Gwalior 1812
Manik dead in the Hutta Jail after the Lucknadown Murders
Amar Subadar
Adopted Bukta
Adopted Rumma Saugor jail
Feringea Jem. Approver
Mahraj Approver
Adopted Gunga Approver
Omrao Approver
Kunhoora dead
Kehree hung at Gwalior 1832
Bysoo at large
Bhugwan dead no issue
hung at Jubbulpoor 1830
Jhurhoo hung at Jubbulpoor 1830
Hurroolee
Pucholee
Bhikka
Ponoo
Sewlal Saugor jail
Dan
A Boy 12 Years Age
Chotee approver
A Child
Molloo approver
Muttoo dead
Gunesh 13 Years old
adopted Rambuksh Jem. for whose apprehension 500 Rs. reward offered, supposed to be in the Service of the Guicowar at Baroda
Nundee dead, no issue
Chutter hung at Saugor
Chidamee hung at Saugor 1832
Chutter no issue
Madhoo
Beharee hung at Jubbulpoor 1830
Saugor Jail
hung Jubbulpoor 1830
Died a boy
No 2
Hukka Lodhee
Lala no issue Male
Bunneear dead without issue
Jhurhadeo without issue
Choree
Heera
Huleean sing Approver
Bhikoo
Nungee dead without issue
Sohur Approver
hung Saugor 1832
Cheynsa hung at Saugor 1832
Nidhan died of the bite of a Snake
Molloo
Motee Saugor Jail
No 3
Mahadeo Brahmun the son of the Sister of Tola who adopted him and brought him up to the trade of Murder—
Dorjun
Sewlal dead no male issue
Nundlall dead no issue Male
Resuree dead no issue Male
Heera Sing transported from Saugor 1832
Pursaud
Bhowanee hung at Jubbulpoor 1830
Ram Buksh at large on Thuggee
Kunhae
Tejun adopted hung at Saugor 1832
Gunesh transported from Saugor 1832
Chotee approver
Adopted Tejuna transported from Saugor
Adopted Kunhora Approver
Pucholee was seized 1822 & sent with a bag of Pearls of great value found upon him to Hyderabad what was done with him I have never heard. He was seized by Capt. Moody, Agent Govr. Genl. Bundelcund at the request of Mr. Molony Agent Govr. Genl. Nerbudda—
Rahma adopted approver now at Hyderabad
(Sd.) W. H. Sleeman